CLASSICAL SOURCES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

PRINTED BY LUKE JAMES HANSARD, 6, GREAT TURNSTILE,
NEAR LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

THE

CLASSICAL SOURCES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLES,

IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,

WITH

TRANSLATIONS, NOTES, AND ANCIENT MAPS.

. . . . . "MR. ELPHINSTONE (THE HISTORIAN OF INDIA) SHOULD KNOW MORE OF THE ANCIENT WESTERN WORLD, WHICH CONTINUALLY ILLUSTRATES AND IS ILLUSTRATED BY THINGS IN INDIA."—

LIFE OF DR. ARNOLD, VOL. 2, p. 315.

25.2
2290

BY S. BANNISTER, M.A.

FORMERLY ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

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LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1846.

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY OF

THOMAS CAMPBELL,

THE ILLUSTRIOUS BARD OF HOPE,

AND OF

ANOTHER MAN OF GENIUS,

THOMAS PRINGLE,

THE RESPECTED SECRETARY OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

in order that the examples of these Friends of Humanity may be warmly recommended to imitation.

Both did honour to Scotland, their native land, and both cherished the best sympathies of our nature to restrain the excesses of British power throughout the British world.

The more brilliant genius of CAMPBELL found greater fame. But PRINGLE had the rare merit of forming a bond of union between our Philanthropy and our Literature; not only bringing his own graceful pen to promote the cause of benevolence, but successfully inviting to its service the efforts of kindred minds, roused by his influence to adorn a new field of study.

To this joint homage to two eminent and united men, the AUTHOR may perhaps be permitted, whilst advocating views which they would have zealously approved, to allude, with pride, to another tie between them, in his own affectionate and old friendship with both.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PART.

INTRODUCTION, in which it is attempted to show, more especially from the disasters of the Romans in Britain, that conquests are adverse, and that a system of humane policy is indispensable, to the lasting progress of civilization; but that British influence and territory may be securely and justly extended by the steady introduction of good government, furnished with means to civilize the savage, and to protect all - - - - - - pp. i. to cxiv.

EXTRACTS FROM CLASSICAL AUTHORS:

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RECORDS

OF

BRITISH ENTERPRISE BEYOND SEA,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ORIGINAL SOURCES

TO THE

PRESENT TIMES;

WITH

COTEMPORARY MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

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By S. BANNISTER, M.A.

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GENERAL PREFACE.

The whole of this work was planned, and the part now published was printed, several years ago, with the hope of being able to supply what is believed to be a serious deficiency in our literature; and of promoting the thorough reform in the Home administration of our Colonial affairs which is essential to the public interest and honour. The enterprises of the British people, both individually and collectively, beyond the seas, have from the earliest times, not only greatly affected the national character, but they have produced some influence upon mankind at large. Travel, for many objects, political, religious, commercial and intellectual; Migrations; Discovery; and Conquests, have been going on unceasingly among us for more than 1800 years;—nevertheless, numerous as are the records of our travels, our migrations, our voyages, our missions and our conquests, no work exists in which they have been fully examined. A judicious selection of these records will, therefore, have the attraction of novelty; and it may furnish materials for a correct estimate of our policy beyond sea, in its various branches. Applied steadily, this new intelligence must lead to great changes in that policy, and turn to the general

advance of civilization and good government, the power which now, at enormous national cost, too often outrages every duty to humanity at large, by permitting ambition, and war, and cupidity, to take place of the honourable enterprises of peace; and which also too often sets justice at defiance by sacrificing individual integrity to intrigue. These gigantic evils are caused by the profound ignorance prevalent in all quarters upon our multitudinous affairs beyond sea.

The materials proposed to be published in order to remove such ignorance, and realise better views, comprise the works of British travellers and official papers. Those travellers may be traced from the faintest glimpse of them in the first ages of Christianity, through the migration of the Britons to Western France, to the opening of our maritime greatness under Alfred, to Anglo-Saxon pilgrimages, to Irish missions, to Anglo-Norman adventure, and to our eventful English career beyond sea in the middle ages, and since the discovery of America, India, Africa, and the Pacific.

The Anglo-Saxon "Song of the Traveller" proves how early the spirit of wandering marked our race. All orders of men among us have shared that spirit. The religious pilgrim, the political envoy and exile, the merchant, the scholar, the soldier, the seaman, the man of science, the artist, the busy and the idle,—some of all these, and many more, have left

memorials of their experience beyond the seas, and claim serious attention to its results.

The arrangement of the selected memorials will distinguish them into several classes, and enable the students of each class conveniently to limit their reading to the subjects they may prefer.

The voyages of discovery will be separated from diplomatic missions; the pilgrimage of the devotee from crusades and conquests; scientific travels from commercial enterprises and colonization; the mission of the public functionary from scientific researches; and the benevolent and useful labours of the philanthropist from the pursuits of amusement. The combination of all will offer a deeply interesting view of the national character. By setting great errors and great crimes in strong lights, that national character will be amended; and as the ancient boast, that England could teach the nations how to live, has been justified in the onward progress of her neighbours through her example, a better justification will be gained for the efforts of those who are earnestly seeking to save a people entitled to be proud of so holy a mission, from falling off in the race of civilization.

The first volume of the work is devoted to the history of the period in which the Roman conquest of Britain was consummated and closed. The motive for including this history is, to present the example of the Romans in its most authentic form,

and blackened by its odious colours. That example is often urged in justification of conquests, as a means of extending civilization, which is one of the greatest of errors, and its correction must be enforced by reiterated and persevering exposure.

Most of this classical matter had already been printed in a work of Mr. Petrie, when keeper of the records in the Tower,—a work authorized by the Government, and published since his death. It is mentioned in p. 71 of the Introduction. It was not consulted in the collection of the classical extracts of the present work, but an opportunity was had of supplying from it a few omitted passages. Some extracts which escaped even the industry of Mr. Petrie will be found in these pages. The similar work of the Rev. Dr. Giles has been published since the present work was printed. The special object of the "Classical Sources of British History" is explained in detail in the Introduction, which also enters at some length into the purpose of the whole work. Further observations will be made upon that purpose in the prefaces to the several classes of which the collection will be composed.

The maps will present the improvements gradually made in geographical science and the progress of geographical discovery, along with curious illustrations of the rude genius of our forefathers, bravely struggling against the difficulties that belong to times of darkness, in contrast with the beautiful perfection to

which the combinations of pictorial art and geometry are tending in our more favoured days.

Another contrast will crown this work; namely, the steady, onward march of the *individual* Englishman abroad, opposed to the vacillating course pursued by his Government. But even here the national genius may triumph over an accidental obstacle. Misrule is not a necessity. The two peculiar circumstances which have always fostered that national genius,—our insulated position and our stormy seas,—are still in full force. Both generate a spirit, natural to all mankind, but nurtured in English hearts by a thousand years' affection, that resists every difficulty with courage, and reforms every abuse with zeal. Successive administrations have prospered, according as they have respected that good spirit; and the official records, which exhibit proof of its influence, will not be the least interesting parts of this collection.

These views are especially supported by the later portions of the records to be here collected. England has grown great by acquiring territories more through conquest than by their peaceful annexation; and her conquests have been tainted with the violences and the frauds belonging essentially to that bad mode of extending dominion. The vice has, however, been greatly compensated in the respect to justice, dictated by the British constitution, and sanctioned by express Acts of Parliament; in the

application of sound principles to the government even of conquests; and in the struggle perseveringly kept up by a zealous minority in defence of those sound principles in the purest form. Traces of this long struggle may be found in the contests respecting the acquisition and government of Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Colonial acquisitions of all kinds, and our career in India present instructive illustrations in the same view of the subject; and it may be said with confidence, that a careful survey of the contemplated records, offers the best means of solving grave difficulties in Colonial and Indian administration, and of rescuing us from the disgrace of again witnessing the severance of ties between kindred communities, whose union nature meant to be prosperous and enduring.

Here will be presented a series of memoirs, showing numerous fluctuations from time to time in British Enterprise beyond sea. One of the famous Fairfaxes, in order to rouse James the First to action in this noble field, told his Majesty, that with encouragement the colonial spirit would *revive* among us, and become again what it had been in the days of Cabot and Raleigh. Unhappily for their peace, the elder Stuarts refused to encourage that spirit, and to their own destruction they cooped up at home the daring men who, if permitted to carry their energies abroad, must have aggrandised the Empire. In after times, the dates of the foundation of Colonies, and of brilliant foreign expeditions, are often curiously

coincident with the changing condition of the mother country,—thus enabling Statesmen to decide when more especially it is wise to encourage such enterprises. Again, the progress of philanthropy, so much concerned in Colonies, will here be seen to have been subject to similar fluctuations, and the philanthropists to have committed errors, in regard to their mode of protecting barbarous people against British excesses, almost as fatal as the error of the elder Stuarts. And here, too, will be found the constitutions of Colonial Government by which Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Temple, Somers, and other great Colonial Statesmen of the 17th century, laid solid foundations for the freedom and prosperity of the American Colonies; and so prepared the way for their happy independence, at a period when less sagacious ministers sapped the allegiance of thirteen States in a block, by violating the good principles of earlier days.

The Introductions to the respective classes of the Collections, will present fit occasions for stamping reproach upon the wretched impolicy which, during the last twenty-five years of again revived colonizing enterprise, led the Government to direct its overwhelming power against the admirable spirit of the modern colonizers (emulators of our Raleighs, our Fairfaxes, and our Penns), to the ruin of many who well-merited its fostering guidance. The veil must be torn boldly from the unworthy pretenders, who have been mainly instru-

mental in this great wrong;—an unsparing hand must be raised against those who have abused the confidence of good men in doing it;—a solemn account must be taken of all who have been concerned in this melancholy exhibition of State mismanagement. This will be suitably done, by setting the Colonial Records of times past in juxta-position with the analogous documents of the present day. The comparison of them may help to avert the perils now again threatening, and induce us to give the whole Constitution to our Colonies, instead of devising schemes which will hasten separation by leaving unprovided the best guarantees of good government.

Such are the objects of the present publication, likely, it is trusted, to be an useful contribution towards the means of working out a great reform, rendered more promising by the very urgency of the times, which prompt to its zealous pursuit many good and able men, who will not consent, without new efforts, to let England become an unnatural and a deserted mother to her myriads of enterprising sons abroad. To effect that great reform, there will be needed a deep knowledge of the past and present state of this vast subject. And it will not be thought an act of presumption in one who has had bitter personal experience of the abuses to be cured, that he should thus attempt to share the honour of remedying them.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

The new spirit in the study of History opens fresh prospects of human happiness.—New subjects of historical inquiry.—Problem to be solved by the improved study of History.—Four special causes of barbarism; domestic slavery; the spirit of conquest; the prejudice of the Greeks against the rest of mankind; and the prejudice of colour in modern times.

LEARNING, so extensive and so profound, has, during several centuries, been devoted to the study of our early history, that another work on the subject requires a special justification. My apology for the present volume is, that the survey which it contains of the chief sources of that history from the sixth century of our æra upwards, suggests views of humane policy, calculated to promote the national interests, and at the same time greatly conducive to the general welfare of mankind. Without pretending to add any thing new to the stock of knowledge already at our command in this important branch of study, I have thought that an improved arrangement of this stock will render it as acceptable to the statesman as to the student; and by facilitating the examination of our early history, open the way to a correct knowledge of facts, and lay a sure original foundation for great colonial reforms.

Ancient Irish history seems to belong to a date earlier than that of Britain; but the most persevering inquirers have not yet satisfied candid judgments that a general civilization existed in Ireland when the Britons were barbarous; and the difficult task of accounting for the unquestionable remains of an extensive civilization in that country at a very remote period, and of accurately fixing

the limits and character of that civilization, is still to be accomplished.*

The history of ancient Britain stands in a position perhaps more unsatisfactory than that of Ireland; the result of a succession of controversies on the subject being extreme uncertainty as to the first communications of civilized people from the Mediterranean with Britain;—as to the state of the country and its inhabitants before the arrival of the Romans;—and even as to their condition for 200 years after the departure of the Romans.†

The early histories of Scotland,‡ of Wales,§ and of the Channel Islands,‖ as contained in various traditions, in remains, and in monuments, have little to distinguish them from those of Ireland and Britain.

But although much has been well written upon the condition of all the British Isles in remote ages, it is undoubtedly true that certain parts of their history have been treated almost universally with neglect. This neglect has been extended to the same portions of all history; namely, the events occurring in the first years of intercourse between barbarians and more civilized people, when the measures which the latter pursue in the conduct of that intercourse, are of the greatest importance in the struggles of the former to attain civilization.

Seeing, however, that the study of History generally is begun to be pursued in a better spirit, it may be expected that the branch of it which concerns barbarous tribes will at length obtain a due share of attention; so that the prospects of the human race, fostered as they will be with

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* *See* note (A.) for a list of the chief authorities on early Irish history.

† *See* note (B.) for British history.

‡ *See* note (C.) for Scottish history.

§ *See* note (D.) for Welsh history.

‖ *See* note (E.) for the history of the Channel Islands.

superior knowledge, may reasonably be contemplated with fresh and sanguine hopes. This new spirit of study will be invigorated by the reflection, that the lessons of the past may be consulted advantageously for the conduct of the future; whilst the hopes of a better future will be realized the more surely and the more profitably, according as the great lessons taught by correct views of the past shall be the more justly appreciated. The *restitution of decayed intelligence* * must then be looked upon as an object worthy of every encouragement,—an obvious remark, only called for by some inconsiderate views which are afloat concerning History, requiring, if not a vindication of its good political uses, at least an apology for opening to the public almost untrodden fields of research. The opinion, that *History is Philosophy teaching by example*, has passed into an universally received maxim; nevertheless, a writer of the present day, of some popular pretension, ventures to designate it "flippant;" † a term somewhat opposed to the eulogy of Bacon, ‡ that the study of History makes men wise, and not a little inconsistent with that of Cicero, § that "History is the witness of ages, the messenger of antiquity, the light of truth, the very life of the memory of things past, and the teacher of the world;" which eulogy is represented with lively quaintness in the *pictorial* frontispiece to Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World."

New subjects of historical inquiry.

The relations of civilized with uncivilized people appearing likely to fill important chapters in our new historical

* Two centuries and a half ago Verstegan published a book under this title, with a frontispiece, the Dispersal of the Builders of the Tower of Babel, well suited to be an emblem of a great colonizing race like the English.

† The New Spirit of the Age, 1844.

‡ Essays, "On Studies."

§ De Orat. 2-9.

studies, these are expressly treated of in this volume; which is offered as a contribution towards the best means of bringing the real records of the past judiciously under general review; and, above all, as a preparation to the young for working out one of the great problems of humanity, the successful solution of which depends essentially upon their unwearying diligence, their discriminating spirit, and their good principles.

Problem to be resolved by the improved study of History.

That problem is, What system will the most satisfactorily secure the safety and civilization of the barbarous tribes with which we have intercourse? in other words, How civilized nations can be best relieved from the dishonour of year after year inflicting wrong, when by due care they might confer benefits upon those tribes?

Favourable opportunities of personally witnessing the good and the evil we are doing to barbarous people have presented the subject to my mind in points of view with which riper scholars are seldom familiar; and my task will be well undertaken if it only tend to invite others more capable* to enter upon the inquiries here submitted to their consideration. It is an attempt to collect out of the ruins of history a few fragments which describe the relations of the civilized ancients with the rude and earlier inhabitants of the British Isles, in order to draw from the collection a few lessons for our guidance. Relations of

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* It is a great misfortune that the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, the Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, should be lost to these studies; and among the many earnest members of what may, without impropriety, be called his school, some should be found sufficiently imbued with his spirit to follow to its true issue a career which he only opened in England. Already another Professor of Oxford, Mr. Merivale, has carried into his lectures on Political Economy, the practice so well pursued by Dr. Arnold, as it had before been even better pursued by Herder in Germany, of illustrating modern affairs from ancient experience, and of combining the whole race of mankind in one connected view of improvement.

every kind,—of trade, of science, of dominion, of war and peace, and even of philanthropy, prevailed between the civilized ancients and our barbarous forefathers, like those which exist between us and the less civilized races of the present day, the Indians of America; the free Africans; the natives of the Australias and South Sea Islands; those of the Asiatic Archipelago; and even the inhabitants of India, China and Japan, whose civilization differs so much from ours, as to place them, through prejudice, in many respects, out of the law of nations, and beyond the pale of humanity, quite as much as the Esquimaux or the Terra-del-Fuegians.

Four special causes of Barbarism.

For the object of this work, it is not necessary to examine the disputed question, Whether the different degrees of barbarism now existing in the world, have followed an original state of perfection? to which the great weight of testimony and probability lean; or, on the contrary, Whether savage life is the natural beginning of our race, from which we have risen to civilization? which powerful writers have asserted. Setting out in the inquiry later than the date of any original condition of man, it is clear, from early records, that the same oppressions and errors which are now the great obstacles to the spread of civilization among uncivilized people, tended to their ruin ages ago; and this happened always, as it does at present, quite independently of the frequent wars of the less civilized nations with each other. Such oppressions are looked upon by many as the natural results of an irremediable inferiority of character in the oppressed. They who hold this opinion resemble our ancestors, who thought, at no distant day, that certain classes among ourselves were destined by Providence to be *perpetually* "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The erroneousness of the latter opinion is at length universally confessed, and it will not be difficult to show that the opinion of the uncivilized race being insuperably an inferior one, is a mere assumption by the

civilized, originating in the exercise of unjust power, and persevered in either in order to perpetuate its enjoyment, or by the influence of an erroneous opinion.

Many circumstances have concurred to produce this opinion; but four great social evils have especially contributed to raise odious distinctions among men, and turned numerous masses into barbarians in conflict with the civilized who injure them. Happily it is probable that the whole of these evils may be utterly extinguished. One of them has already disappeared, along with the power of those who cherished it, and the influence of the others has of late been much shaken.

Those four evils are, 1°, the practice of domestic slavery, from the earliest times to the present day; 2°, the spirit of conquest, of which traces may be found in the very dawn of history, and which certainly prevails still in deplorable vigour; and 3°, the prejudice of colour in modern times. To these is to be added the fourth evil, which has disappeared along with the power of the people who fostered it; namely, 4°, the prejudice of the Greeks against barbarians, or *all* the rest of mankind.

Domestic slavery.

The mischievous effects of domestic slavery, as well as its early date, are strikingly represented in the story of Hagar, whose sufferings are apt types of the manifold lasting miseries of that condition. Having borne a son to her master, Abram, she was compelled by the jealousy of his wife, her mistress, to flee to the desert, where her son was to become "*a wild man, whose hand would be against every man, and every man's hand against him.*" *

This touching picture of ancient manners proves how certainly one form of injustice would produce an inequality of condition in a whole race. The same sacred record is not deficient in other facts marking the like sources of in-

* Gen. ch. xvi., v. 12.

feriority in races, whose independence was destroyed in the wars of the ambitious,* by the callousness of parents,† and through the cupidity of the rich;‡ whilst the heavy punishment for man-stealing,§ and the humane mitigations of domestic slavery,‖ by the law of Moses, with the command of kindness to the stranger,¶ also prove how hard the struggle was to vindicate the claims of humanity against this form of oppression, which was new in primæval society.

An account of the origin and results of slavery among the Greeks, preserved by Athenæus,** contains views, too much neglected, in favour of the antiquity and intrinsic value of personal freedom, topics admirably opened in one of the lectures of the late learned Professor of Poetry in Oxford.††

The enormous evils to which even a powerful nation may be exposed by keeping masses of men in domestic slavery, were exemplified in the decline of the fortunes of Rome. The invading barbarians, beyond the frontiers of the empire, then found tens of thousands of slaves eager for change, and able, by their familiarity with the roads and the whole interior, to guide the enemy to its most important defences.

The spirit of conquest.

It is a common opinion, that conquests are justified by the good they do to the conquered. Without entering into that large question, it is an undeniable truth, that when the most civilized conqueror has destroyed the independence of an uncivilized people, the immediate effect upon great numbers of the bravest spirits among them is, a desire

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* Gen. ch. xiv., v. 10. The remnant of the vanquished "fled to the mountain."

† Exod. ch. xxi., v. 7.

‡ Gen. ch. xiv., v. 14 and 21.

§ Exod. ch. xxi., v. 16.

‖ Exod. ch. xxi., v. 1.

¶ Exod. ch. xxii., v. 21.

** See note (F.)

†† Prælectiones Academicæ, à J. Keble, 1844, v. i., p. 231–236. Mr. Keble here gives hopes of a future work on slavery, which will be looked for with the greatest interest.

to escape for refuge to mountainous and desolate regions, where they usually adopt the wildest habits. Hence, in all ages, the borders of warlike states have been covered with the vindictive remnants of ruined tribes, whose harassing attacks can only be checked by the reluctant concessions of their oppressors, granted after centuries of resistance. To illustrate this topic fully, would be to fill volumes, from the earliest ancient to the latest modern history. The importance of the topic may be inferred from the fact, that in every civilized state, which, in turn, has fallen from greatness, some seeds of its ruin may be discovered in the consequences of injustice towards barbarous neighbours, who might have been conciliated by kindness, or kept in check by courage tempered with integrity. Carthage could never have been destroyed by the Romans, if Spain* and Africa† had not contained a hundred tribes eager for deliverance from the oppressor's yoke; and Rome found, to her cost, that the savage was only the more fatally irritated, by being placed in a gladiatorial show along with lions and elephants, when he ought to have been left undis-

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* "The arrogance with which the Carthaginian officers now treated the Spaniards, had made a fatal opening, which Scipio, with intuitive sagacity, observed, and with decision no less admirable he struck his blow to the heart of his enemy."—Dr. Arnold's History of Rome, iii., p. 399, B. C. 209.

"The Carthaginian generals found that the contest in Spain was virtually ended. The Spanish soldiers in their army went over in large bodies to the enemy; the Spanish towns opened their gates to the Romans, and put the Carthaginian garrisons into their hands."—Ib. 422, B. C. 206.

† Masinissa urged Scipio to cross over as soon as possible into Africa, where he might be able to serve him most effectually. Scipio's keen discernment of character taught him the value of Masinissa's friendship; for had he fought in Hannibal's army, Scipio in all probability would never have won the day at Zama."—Ib. 437, A. C. 206.

Even in Sicily, where the Carthaginians were aided by the stronger resistance of the natives against the Romans, the ill-treatment of an African chief by the Carthaginian general occasioned the last reverses

turbed in his forest home, or only visited to be peaceably tamed. When Cicero counselled his brother to be humane to the barbarians he governed,* and when he described so eloquently the miseries man does to man, and the duty of all to do good to all,† he forgot that in his own career, as the governor of a conquered province, his desire of a triumph had extinguished his philosophy, and exposed him to the severe rebuke of the great Roman,‡ who opposed all wars for conquest, and who moved the senate to deliver Julius Cæsar a prisoner to the nation he had wronged.§

Christianity has not yet done its destined work of destroying the spirit of conquest; and powerful nations, calling themselves Christian, still carry ruin where they might spread peace and improvement among barbarians. This has been singularly shown in the history of the last thirty years, during which the civilized world, at peace at home, has witnessed in silence the sanguinary attacks made by its respective members upon the rights and independence of their uncivilized neighbours beyond its frontiers. The Russians in Circassia, France in Northern Africa, the United States of North America in the Indian countries, and Great Britain in every quarter of the globe, have, during this period, exceeded the worst acts of the worst times, as it were with a common consent to outrage the claims of humanity, and with the unjustifiable object of conquering in order to civilize.

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which led to the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily.—Ibid., 317, A. C. 210.

It was a condition in the terms of submission proposed to the Carthaginians, after their defeat at Zama, that they should restore to Masinissa all that had belonged to him, or to any of his ancestors.—Ibid., p. 454.

* Epist. ad Quintum, Lib. I., Ep. i., s. ix.

† Cic. de Offic., Lib. ii. c. 5.

‡ Correspondence with Cato, Ep. ad Fam., Lib. xv.

§ Plutarch's Cato the younger, c. lviii.

When the spirit of conquest prevailed almost universally, it was perhaps impossible to escape from the successive destroyings which befell all the nations of antiquity, and so often turned their civilization into barbarism. Hence the East and West are covered with ruins, attesting the former existence and the annihilation of myriads of human beings, whose cultivated homes have become deserts. With the addition, too, of the system of domestic slavery to prompt the stronger to prey upon the weaker, and enabling the conqueror, after massacring the men, to indulge in avarice and every bad passion, by the possession of helpless women and children, civilization could not but be fluctuating. But it was not to have been expected that this evil spirit should find apologists among Christian pastors,* however difficult it may be for statesmen and soldiers to admit its criminality, and resist its attractions, or for its wisest opponents to bring about its extinction.

The prejudice of the Greeks against all the rest of mankind.

The prejudice of the Greeks against all barbarians, as an inferior race, produced infinite evils to both. Whatever the origin of the prejudice might have been, it is a mistake to suppose, as some modern historians,† misled by the earlier writers among the ancients,‡ have supposed, that Asiatics, such as the Phœnicians, the Trojans, the Scythians, and the Persians, were the only objects of this prejudice.

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* Bossuet saw in the grandeur of the Roman conquests the types of those of Louis XIV.; and he held forth both for the admiration and example of his own pupil, the Dauphin.—Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle, Avant-propos, p. 5.

Dr. Arnold seems to have been misled, by very different feelings, to encourage sentiments of respect for the great, but savage, conquerors of antiquity; and the opinion may be hazarded, that time would have raised in this eminent person ideas upon conquest more in harmony with his own excellent principles, and more consistent with the genuine lessons of History.—History of Rome, vol. ii., p. 545.

† Bossuet, Histoire Universelle, Part. iii., ch. 5.

‡ Herodotus, i., c. 1, and Isocrat. Paneg. ad fin.

According to the testimony of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, even the Romans* and Carthaginians were preposterously included in the number of those over whom the Greeks claimed superiority. Eratosthenes proposed the wiser distribution of mankind into classes, as they might be more or less remarkable for moral qualities; of which he maintained all nations had some share. He insisted that the Romans and Carthaginians in particular were "marvellously civilized,"† and therefore more especially undeserving of such exclusion.

The opinions and conduct of Alexander on this subject are worthy of attention. Aristotle, his teacher and friend, favoured the exclusive spirit of the Greeks,‡ and advised Alexander to put himself at their head as their countryman and leader but to treat all the rest of mankind as mere

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* Dr. Arnold suggests a doubt, whether the Romans were not in later times acknowledged by the Greeks to be their "kinsmen."—History of Rome, v. ii., p. 398. But he has in another place adduced strong proof to the contrary, in an elaborate picture of the misery inflicted upon Syracuse when taken by the Romans; "*barbarians*, whom she had helped in their utmost need, and who were repaying the unshaken friendship of Hiero with the plunder of his city and the subjugation of his people."—Ibid., iii., p. 310. So Pyrrhus was invited to save Tarentum and other Greek cities in Italy from the "*fierce barbarians*" of Rome; "a work that well became the kinsman of the great Alexander, the descendant of Achilles and of Æacus."—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 445. Dionys. Halic. supports the former opinion. Mai's Fragments, Rome, 1827, 7. 2. p. xx.

† *Οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς δίχα διαιροῦντας ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθος, εἴς τε Ἕλληνας καὶ Βαρβάρους. Πόλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἶναι κακοὺς, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀστείους, ἔτι δε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρκηδονίους, οὕτω θαυμαστῶς πολιτευομένους.* Eratosthenes, Fragmenta Geograph. Ed. Seidel. Goett. 1789, p. 85. Strabo, Lib. i. cap. iv.

‡ "Among the barbarians, the woman and the slave hold the same rank. The reason is, they do not regard the injunctions of nature; but their social state is based upon the servitude of the woman, as much as upon the servitude of the slave. Therefore, say the poets, "it is right that the Greeks should rule the barbarians; for a barbarian and a slave is the same by nature."—Arist. Politic. i., c. 2.

subjects.* Pursuant to this advice, he conquered Asia by the aid of the Greeks, intending afterwards to attack the more formidable people of the West;† some of whom, in the true spirit of the bad maxim, *Divide and govern*, he had begun to bribe with a share of his Asiatic plunder.‡ If Alexander's better feelings ever prompted him to take, in theory, the more philanthropic alternative, he was dazzled by victory; and he preferred, in fact, the power of conquest, however oppressive, to the surer but more remote and less brilliant influence of universal justice. In the last unhappy period of his life, when his murder was probably in preparation, Alexander invited the fidelity of his Asiatic soldiers by a display of *cosmopolitism*, little in harmony with his earlier practice, or with the illiberality of his Greek followers. In his address to those Asiatics he reminds them, that he had treated them less as a conquered race than as his companions in victory; that instead of compelling them to adopt his country's usages, he had assumed theirs; and that he had allied the two races by marriages.§

As the Greek followers of Alexander treated this attempt to raise the Asiatics to a level with themselves, with great disdain, his death restored the old prejudice to its full vigour; and it is little surprising that the empire really founded upon this fatal prejudice should have sunk ingloriously after a few years, although the first gigantic edifice was raised by a career of success, and by personal qualities, which, although abused, have excited the admiration of all

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* Plutarch's Alexander, c. lxxxiv. Mr. Blakesley doubts the propriety of this imputation. Life of Aristotle, Cambridge, 1839, p. 52.

† Livy, ix., c. 17.

‡ Plutarch's Alexand., c. xxxiv. *Ἐπέμψε καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἰτάλιαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων.*

§ Justin. xii., c. 12; Plutarch. lxxiv; Arrian. Exped. Alex. vii., c. xxix. Mr. Blakesley, with many others, treats the poisoning as calumnious. Ubi sup. p. 88.

ages. To the inordinate ambition of the Greeks is in some degree to be attributed the reaction which destroyed them; and hence they who were really the teachers, and might have been the equals, of the Romans, fell by pretending to be their masters. A reflection in the remarkable passage of Livy already quoted, respecting the probable result, if Alexander had lived to attack Rome as he meditated doing, opens the most interesting views on this head. The balancing of power between great nations, by which in modern times it seems possible to effect so much for the peace and civilization of the world, might have been realized in the days of Alexander, if the check to his ambition, through the combination suggested by Livy, could have thrown the great conqueror back upon the better philosophy for which Plutarch gives him credit. "Perhaps," says the Roman historian, "Carthage, already an old and friendly ally of Rome, would have joined us to repel the common attack of the Macedonian, who could not have withstood our united arms."* Who then shall say, that, with the sounder principles prevailing in Alexander, which he recognized, and which Eratosthenes soon loudly advocated, a wiser course of policy might not have arisen among these great states, to their common advantage, and to the general good of mankind?†

Instead of the universal equality which is indispensable for such results, the Greeks cherished a spirit so entirely the reverse, that even among themselves there were distinctions of an odious character which could not fail to excite rancorous dissensions. It was the peculiar and

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* Livy, ix. c. 19. Forsitan quum et fœderibus vetustis juncta Punica res Romanæ esset, et timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas urbes armaret, simul Punico, Romanoque obrutus bello esset.

† See a valuable examination of the character of Alexander the Great in Brouwer, on the Civilization of the Greeks. Groningen, 1833, vol. v. p. 32–41.

absurd boast of the Athenians, that "by nature they were in the highest degree averse to barbarians, because they were wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy: they were genuine Greeks, no half-barbarians, like the countrymen of Cadmus and others, who were barbarians by extraction, although living under Grecian laws."* Dr. Arnold has speculated on the probability of the Greeks having become the conquerors of the western world instead of the Romans; and of the Greek language and laws having become the sources of civilization to Europe instead of those of Rome, if the great expedition of the Athenians, planned against Syracuse in order to conquer Carthage and Italy, as well as Sicily, had not been destroyed.† Perhaps the prejudice of the Greeks against all barbarians would, under any occasional success, have rendered such extension of dominion in the west impossible. The Romans pursued a wiser and more humane principle; and if the ultimate ruin of Rome arose from the influence of vices from which they were not free, their rise to the rule of half the world, including perhaps the whole of its civilization, may be traced‡ to the degree in which they cherished a cosmopolitan spirit, as well as to their arms. The civilized world of antiquity fell under the Romans in consequence of its want of the cosmopolitan spirit. The barbarians stubbornly clung to their independence, because Rome did not possess that spirit in a sufficient degree. Otherwise, there seems to be

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* Plato's Menexenus, West's translation, p. 306.

† The History of Rome, 1838, vol. i., p. 348, B. C. 418; and Thucyd. vi., c. 90.

‡ 1 Maccabees, ch. viii., "Now Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men and such as would lovingly accept all that join themselves unto them, and make a league of amity with all that came unto them . . . . . Therefore Judas sent to the Romans to make a league of amity with them, and to entreat that they would take the yoke from them, for the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude." B. C. 161.

no reason why the greatest civilizing power that the world had possessed before the nineteenth century, next to the power of uncorrupted Christianity, should not have continued for another thousand years, or indefinitely, to be the gradually absorbing and improving power over all people.

The prejudice of colour in modern times.

The prejudice of colour in modern times has raised a new source of hostility between Christians and an immense portion of the human family. It has even embittered the lot of the slave, by exceedingly increasing the difficulty of his emancipation; and it is thus a powerful obstacle to the total amalgamation of races, which is indispensable to their sure enjoyment of political rights. In an able treatise, written by a man of colour,* a native of Haiti, the MODERN DATE of this prejudice is maintained by strong arguments; and if a doubt can be raised respecting their force, as at present developed, no objection will be made to the ingenuity with which M. Linstant has demonstrated the necessity of immediate and extensive legislative measures for the purpose of one day removing a prejudice springing mainly from legislative injustice. Upon this head the coloured advocate of Haiti has enlarged with very great ability, and opened a new source of inquiry in the laws of the French colonies, with which his personal experience rendered him familiar. Without attempting to abridge M. Linstant's arguments as to the prejudice of colour being of modern date, they may be supported by reference to facts, which prove that, in the middle ages, *colour* did not constitute an odious objection to individuals, or deprive a race of the enjoyment of equality. For example, although Æsop may neither have been a negro, as some have thought he was, nor even a real personage, which others doubt, it is nevertheless certain, that the description

* M. Linstant, who in 1840 gained the Gregoire Prize in Paris against numerous French competitors, for an Essay on the best means of abolishing the prejudice of colour.

of him, with the colour, the hair and the nose of a negro, by his Greek biographer, Planudes,* in the 14th century, places it beyond doubt, that no probability was then violated, as to such a man as Æsop having been of negro race. Again, although it must be admitted, that the African Civilization Society erred in resting any hopes of negro advancement upon an ancient experience of any *people* of negroes having once adopted Christianity, it is certain that in the seventh century the *African* Christian churches had not quite disappeared, and that an *African* ecclesiastical functionary of rank was received by the Anglo-Saxons, along with an Asiatic bishop, from Rome, to rule an English see; which they did with singular ability.† At a later period, a marriage was contemplated between a sister of Richard Cœur de Lion and the brother of Saladin in the Holy Land; and a still more remarkable alliance then negociated between King John and the Miramolin of Morocco and Spain,‡ might without difficulty have led to relations of intimate friendship between us and Africans and Asiatics, capable of changing the whole current of the Crusades, and of removing other causes of our long enmities with those races. It is certain that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portuguese women married negroes without repugnance; and it has required, in the colonies of all Christian nations, laws of the extremest severity to prevent the flow of natural affections in the same way, whenever the two races have been in intimate communication. To this day, in Rome, the Pope makes solemn processions in honour of a *black* Madonna, who has probably descended from the ages preceding the rise of the colonial prejudice of colour; and Shakespeare, who lived *before* that prejudice existed, has at least given to his

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* Æsop's Fables. Geneva, 1524.

† Berrington's Middle Ages, p. 139, from Bede's Hist. Eccl. iv., c. 1, 2.

‡ Matthew Paris, folio edit., 1640, London, p. 243.

Moor, Othello, every quality and accomplishment that can contribute to make the lover and the hero.

The legislative redress which M. Linstant wisely claims for the wide-spread grievances of coloured people, can only be secured by the weight of society at large; and such literary success as his is the more valuable, as it tends to conciliate public opinion in favour of the class to which he belongs, and thus to pave the way towards the abolition of the unfounded prejudice of colour, whether of old, or of new date.

In order to correct the errors still prevailing on these and on analogous points, the history of the world must be surveyed again and again, in the good spirit now begun to be adopted, with a greater or less amount of zeal, in all civilized countries.

II.

The origin and fluctuations of philanthropic zeal in favour of the uncivilized races.—Late improvement in public opinion respecting the intercourse of the civilized and uncivilized races.—Great need of further change.—The abolition of Negro Slavery in our Colonies, only the beginning of great efforts to promote the civilization of all barbarous people.—Causes of the failure of means hitherto relied upon for that purpose.

The origin and progress of philanthropic views in favour of the less civilized races.

Happily the existence of good feelings, ever struggling in favour of the oppressed, can be traced back so far, that they may well be designated as part of our nature, and hence it is not visionary to expect their ultimate victory. If in Rome, 150 years before our era, Terence could gain universal applause to his sublime sentiment in favour of the common fellowship of the human race,* it is plain,

* Terence, Heautont. Act. i., sc. 1, vers. 25.

Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto.

that the Christian's more complete doctrine of "peace upon earth, and good will towards men,"* may one day be universally adopted; and it will work no reforms more wanted than those which concern the treatment of the tribes differing from us materially in civilization, and for the most part composed of coloured people.

The ground of our hope that such reforms will be carried out upon the widest scale is, that the sense of justice and equality is sufficiently strong in the human heart to constitute the basis of universal philanthropy.

All religions, even the most corrupt,—and above them all, Christianity, even in its most corrupted forms, have recognized the claims of the whole human race to the sympathy of all. Among the ancients, homage was clearly paid to those claims in partial appeals to a primæval golden age of purity, and in a vague belief of future rewards or punishments. Even the sword of the Mussulman permitted the spread of humanizing influences; so that the absurd and cruel rites of idolatry and human sacrifices have disappeared far and wide under the influence of the Coran; and the sincerer professors of Christianity have persevered, for many centuries, if not to remove every species of evil from the face of the earth, at least to carry a more humane practice along with their faith, into its remotest quarters.

Thus the strongest of all the influences over men's minds and actions plainly tend to secure their general happiness; and as all Christian governments always profess philanthropy as a duty, which they often discharge, their good progress during the last 300 years, notwithstanding many obstacles and great fluctuations, leads to a reasonable confidence in the ultimate triumph of humanity.

Philanthropy enjoined by the constitution.

The British colonial constitutions are based upon principles which especially justify this confidence in regard to

* Luke, ch. ii. v. 14.

uncivilized tribes.* Instructions to the Privy Council of 1670† expressly declare, that the governors of all the colonies shall be just to the natives. Those instructions probably originated with the Earl of Clarendon; and their spirit may be recognised in Cromwell's fine manifesto against Spain, which was written by Milton,‡ and lays down the soundest principles in the noblest language in favour of humane colonization. Similar declarations may be found in state papers of Queen Elizabeth and Edward the Sixth, and at earlier periods, on the subject of the aboriginal inhabitants of the countries to be colonized, or traded with; and the royal instructions to colonial governors have been consistent with the document of 1670; of which there is a striking modern example in the original constitution of New South Wales.§

Philanthropy neglected.

How little these views were supported in practice, notwithstanding the great efforts of the Puritans in 1653, carried out most exemplarily by the Eliots and Boyles and Penns of the seventeenth century, may be inferred from such facts as the following. Exterminatory wars with the natives marked our progress, with little variation, because suitable institutions were not established by the state to protect and elevate them, and because our laws were never accommodated to their condition. In the reign of Queen Anne, a Bill to provide for the education of the negroes was

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* One of the earliest acts of Henry VII., when the state religion was not Protestant, was to send a priest to Newfoundland, our first colony; and a deep interest was then felt for the natives. Afterwards our Protestant form of Common Prayer provided expressly for baptizing the natives of the plantations; and all the dissenting bodies warmly share this spirit of universal benevolence.

† British Mus. Harl. MSS. No. 6394; and Report of the Aborigines Committee, House of Commons Papers, 1837, No. 425, p. 3.

‡ Prose Works, 4to., ii. vol., p. 262.

§ House of Commons Papers, 1812, No. 341, p. 102, art. 6; Report on Transportation.

brought into the House of Commons, without success. A few years afterwards, Berkeley made his extraordinary efforts in behalf of the Indians of North America, with universal admiration; when the minister even excused the support he gave to the attempt by a cool statement of his belief that the Parliament would not countenance it. At that period the indifference of the government upon the subject had reached to such an extremity, that when a body of American colonists applied for aid in civilizing the Indians, the official reply was, that the interests of the planters would be injured by their improvement, which therefore must not be encouraged; and when the colonists made laws against negro slavery, the Crown annulled those laws.

Revival of Philanthropy.

Towards the middle of the last century, a change began in the public mind on every branch of the subject, and the most remarkable incident in that change* was only one of the signs of the awakening conscience of the people of Europe, as well as of England, at the commission of an enormous crime, of which all Christian nations were guilty. So the indignation with which the massacre of the natives of the South Seas, in Captain Cook's voyages, was received on his return, was shared by humane men in other countries. When Louis XVI. was correcting the instructions for the French voyager, La Perouse, with his own hand, he wrote these words in reference to the use of firearms against the natives of the South Sea Islands: "He should consider one of the happiest circumstances attending the expedition to be its termination, without costing the life of one human being."† The change grew out of an early resistance‡ to cruel practices; against which Brainerd's successes with the

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* Granville Sharp's vindication of the freedom of the negro.

† Petit Radel, sur les Bibliothéques, Paris, 1819, p. 76.

‡ In 1671, George Fox prevailed on some Barbadoes planters to liberate their slaves; and in 1684, the first anti-slavery body was formed in Philadelphia. Mem. of the Hist. Soc. vol. ii. p. 365.

American Indians, and Wesley's devotedness in their behalf, had produced no lasting good; whilst, on account of the same obstacles, Franklin reasoned and appealed for those Indians in vain. Even the incident, of which so much may be made to benefit the savage, *and to which he is always prone*, VISITS TO ENGLAND, were at this period turned to a poor account. The Mohawks, who came from America in Queen Anne's time, only furnished an idle amusement to the public; and Ockham, the Indian clergyman, with others who came over later, although liberally treated when here, carried back little that could aid them materially in their struggle against barbarism at home. Africa continued to be ravaged by wars stimulated by us in order to feed the slave trade; and it was at the same time a specific instruction to Commodore Anson, to injure the Spaniards by exciting the Indians, in union with our fleet, to make war against the colonists in South America.

The struggle of Philanthropy in favour of India.

It is British India that offers the most astounding as well as the most instructive example of the struggle between good and evil principles on this head; a struggle begun in regard to that great country in the middle of the last century, and which, after very remarkable fluctuations, during ninety years, is still undecided. The terms of this struggle have long been settled. Our ordinary colonial acquisitions are readily distinguished upon important points from our territorial acquisitions in India; but some constitutional obligations, in regard to our Indian possessions, are the same with those of the colonies. Thus the fundamental rule, to be rigorously just in all our relations with the natives, was from the first as familiar to our Indian officers,* as to colonial functionaries. So the proposition,

* Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, 1782, vol. iii., Appendix, No. 325; and Despatches of the Directors of the East India Company, 25 March and 13 May 1768.

that the crown is the legal, paramount authority in which is vested the responsibility of sanctioning and disposing of all new territorial acquisitions, and of making war and peace, was not the less true in India through the intervention of the Company, than in any of the colonies.

The magnitude of our interests in India early attracted the attention of men capable of forming a correct estimate of the moral duties which a share in its boundless riches imposed upon the nation. When Clive proposed to the Earl of Chatham to appropriate those riches to the payment of the national debt, the great minister at once saw not only the danger of such aggrandisement,* but its iniquity, which he never ceased to denounce.† It was strong public indignation, embodied in words by the Earl

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* The Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, 1759, vol. i. p. 392.

† In 1767, Lord Chatham said to the Earl of Shelburne, on the prospect of a better system :—" I need not tell you how this transcendent subject, India, possesses my heart, and fixes my thoughts. It will not be hard to judge of my sensations, in a dawn of reason and equity, in the general court, so long delivered up to the grossest delusion of a mistaken self-interest, and shutting their eyes to the clearest principles of justice, and to a series of the most incontestable facts. I will hope that one act will now do the nation justice, and fix the ease and pre-eminence of England for ages, and be a plentiful source of manly and noble joy."—Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 153.

In 1773, Lord Chatham again said, when former efforts to reform abuses had failed:—" India teems with iniquities so rank as to smell to earth and heaven ; the reformation of which, if pursued in a pure spirit of justice, might exalt the nation, and endear the English name throughout the world. The generous purpose was no sooner conceived in the hearts of a few, but by-ends and sinister interests tainted the execution, and power was grasped at, where redress should be the only object. The putting under control the high and dangerous prerogative of war and alliances, so abused in India, I cannot but approve ; as it shuts the door against such insatiable rapine, and detestable enormities as have on some occasions stained the English name, and disgraced human nature."

. . . . " India is so complicated and extensive, and opens so vast a field of matter, that no two men can well think alike with regard to all its parts, and more particularly with regard to the correction of

of Chatham, not "faction, and party manœuvres, personal vanity, and fanaticism," as sometimes alleged,* which produced and pursued the impeachment of Warren Hastings; and the impeachment itself was a part only of the great moral drama, begun with the public abhorrence of the avarice of Clive, and not yet closed.

The public sense of right was outraged by the violence done by the English in India, for the sake of gold, in the middle of the last century; and the question was then earnestly discussed, *whether British enterprise could not find a better field in the East than one so thickly strewn with crime?* This question was too soon decided by a resolution of the House of Commons,† afterwards confirmed by Acts of Parliament,‡ to the effect that, first, *conquests*, and, secondly, *extension of dominion, in India*, are *repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of the nation.* The proceedings against Hastings were mainly instituted in order to vindicate this declaration, and it was afterwards strengthened by the two Indian administrations of the Marquis Cornwallis in conformity to it. It was based

Parliamentary declaration and laws against *all* extension of dominion in India.

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abuses, and prevention of dangers, in regions as remote from us in manners as in latitude. *Modes of remedy must* be, in this case, conjectural; and the *beginnings* of *reformation can only* amount to an *imperfect rough sketch, which time and candour might bring to more perfection, if men were honestly agreed in principle.*

"*India must be reformed, or lost. Force and rapine will not secure it;* but JUSTICE AND FORCE WILL; EQUAL, OPEN, and INDEPENDENT JUSTICE."—Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 275. 277–284.

* Historical Sketches, by Lord Brougham, Third Series, p. 199 and 208. Against the rash sentiments of Lord Brougham, may be cited the wiser judgment of an impartial German—Professor Schlosser—that our Indian glories are eclipsed by the injury they inflict on the national character.—(Hist. of the 19th Cent., Transl., vol. iv. p. 160.) The impeachment was meant to save us from this disgrace.

† 1782; Parliamentary History, vol. 22, p. 1302.

‡ 24 Geo. III., c. 25, s. 34, 1784; 33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 42, 1793.

upon what Sir Philip Francis emphatically called the principle of "benevolence" and peace.*

Indian policy influenced by European politics.

They who have advocated the system of forcible territorial acquisitions, as opposed to that of generally peaceful intercourse, have also been influenced by considerations wholly distinct from the just interests of the natives of India. Mr. Hastings was deeply impressed with our danger from French intrigues, when he launched into the career of armed interference with Indian powers, which was met by the Parliamentary declaration against such aggressions, and led to his impeachment. Afterwards, the similar warlike proceedings of the Marquis Wellesley were stimulated by the dread of Napoleon. So Lord Minto was diverted from the better internal interests of India, to an offensive policy against French power in the East; and in our own days, the expectation of the hostile approach of the Russians towards India has produced calamities exceeding in amount and hazard the disasters of all former Indian wars. But, independently of European politics, our territorial acquisitions have been extending in India in the last forty years beyond all precedent, although in 1805 and 1806, in the discussions upon the declaration of Parliament against "conquest and *extension of dominion*," *all* parties agreed, that the principle of that declaration ought to be respected; and that, what was then termed by a director of the East India Company in the House of Commons, *substituting the system of the olive branch for that of the sword*, ought to be the rule of our conduct.

* Sir P. Francis, unfortunately for his own reputation, abandoned this great cause at its crisis in 1805, about which period Mr. Horner was employed by the Directors of the East India Company to expound their views upon the extension of our Indian dominions, and upon the Marquis Wellesley's Maratta war. Mr. Horner contemplated "a survey of the whole system of our Oriental policy and projects,—the assertion of the rights of remote nations, and the prescription of maxims for the improvement of our empire in Asia." —Horner's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 252.

The failure arose from an error in the rule.

The parliamentary proposition is twofold. Not only are conquests condemned, but *all means* of extending our Indian territories are forbidden by it. This might be wise for the traders of the East India Company, but it was neither wise *nor possible* for the British subjects employed by the Company and by the Crown in India. These British subjects were influenced by very different feelings from those of a commercial company; and it was a capital fault to seek to restrain their *good* progress, which was attempted in forbidding *all* extension.

A far better object ought to have been steadily held up for the guidance of the energetic men who represented the British people in India; and that object, *a wise system, founded on just principles*, could alone be relied upon to abate the crimes which Lord Chatham had denounced.

Mr. Fox stated this in his frequent speeches on Indian affairs in the last two years of his existence; upon one of which occasions, he called upon the government to provide a just *system*, that should be a guide to our governors in India, be intelligible to the natives, and beneficial to ourselves.*

Mr. Fox calls for a new *system* in India.

Mr. Pitt, who adopted his father's views upon India, and had never entirely withdrawn from the struggle, only erred by neglecting the true course of proceeding for reform. There were others who, despairing of the possibility of effecting that reform, even insisted that our duty lay in the abandonment of India. Against these erroneous views, the national energies, favoured by temporary cir-

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* Parliamentary Debates, 1805, vol. iv., p. 253.

Mr. Horner's Journal for 1806 discloses the important fact, that Mr. Fox, when forming an administration with Lord Grenville, firmly refused to pledge himself not to support an accusation of the Marquis Wellesley for his Indian administration, although he consented that it should not be made a Cabinet measure. Memoirs, vol. i., p. 335.

cumstances, but uncontrolled by a wise system, have prevailed; and the result is a succession of Indian wars, interspersed with periods in which peace is warmly professed to be our best policy and our most urgent duty.

Such a period has again begun;* and advantage ought to be taken of it, for the purpose of calmly considering how aggressions upon the native powers may in future be averted; and great armies be kept up for the maintenance of order, not for perpetual wars.

This may be accomplished,—not by prohibiting *all* extension of territory,—but by an humane policy, which shall permit territorial aggrandizement only in consistency with a respect for all the rights of mankind.

The necessity of a new system demonstrated.

A rapid glance at the whole British world in its relations with the more barbarous portions of mankind, will demonstrate the need there is of a great change on this head.

British North America, from Newfoundland to the Columbia River, is a vast scene of ruin to the Indian tribes, with the few exceptions of kindly meant efforts, the success of which suggests what might be accomplished by the appliance of means proportioned to the requirements of the case.

British South America differs little in results from the North; the West India Islands standing in a peculiar position, not within the range of the present inquiry.

In Western Africa, where so much has been done well in most difficult circumstances, our neglect of wise mea-

* The address of the Chairman of the East India Company to Sir Henry Hardinge, in 1844:

"Peace prevails in India. It is our anxious desire that it should be preserved."

"Peace is desirable for the prosperity of our finance, and the development of the resources of the country."

"The empire of India cannot be upheld by the sword alone. The attachment of the people, their confidence in our sense of justice, and in our desire to maintain the obligations of good faith, must ever be essential elements of our strength."—The Friend of India. Serampore, 14 Nov. 1844.

sures has at length enforced a call in the House of Commons for a system to regulate the intercourse of our settlements with the natives.

In South Africa, after torrents of human blood have been shed there in the last eight years, in consequence of the resistance of the government to the rational progress of humane colonization, in a region of surpassing interest to the philanthropist, many millions of acres are now adopted by the Crown as a new colony, but without a single guarantee against a repetition of the very errors which caused those calamities ; although experience in this important region alone, furnishes excellent means of correcting those errors.

In Madagascar, the interests of Great Britain and the claims of humanity have been equally sacrificed by us in the last eighteen years, through gross impolicy.

In the oldest colony of Australia, New South Wales, the fate of the natives is become so dreadful as to have roused the shame and the indignation of the popular assembly against the incapacity of the administration to deal with the difficulties of the case. In Van Diemen's Land, the natives are all exterminated ; the last handful having been removed from their homes under peculiarly painful circumstances. In the other colonies their condition is precarious; and the knowledge of the truth does not carry conviction strongly enough in quarters from which remedies might easily proceed for these enormous evils, *through the due extension of approved measures in favour of the natives.*

In New Zealand, in spite of a great missionary success, the natives have been exposed by us to a double source of ruin; first, by covering the country with runaway convicts and sailors and adventurers, without law, until 1838, in which year excellent guarantees for humane colonization were rejected; secondly, the missionaries (quite incapable of meeting the difficulties of the case by themselves) were exposed to ruin by the occupation of New Zealand being proffered to France ; so that the scenes at Tahiti must have

occurred in the Bay of Islands. Again, when energetic individuals saved New Zealand from France, that forced settlement of the sovereignty, *as between civilized nations*, was left unaccompanied by the indispensable safeguards of system and good government. The natural results are before the world in the recent dissensions and sanguinary feuds, which are likely to be eclipsed by a speedy succession of worse disasters.

In the South Seas, full of our missionaries, of our fleets, and of our adventurers, one island is already afflicted by events which have disturbed the civilized world, and which can be traced directly, on the one hand, to the neglect of those international laws for the protection of barbarous people, which would shelter them in their difficult transition from the savage to the civilized state; and on the other, to the absence of an humane system of British colonization.

In these respects, Tahiti is one of many islands likely to suffer much by our disregard of right principles; and the evils from French aggression are but a small portion of the mischiefs we are permitting in those regions.

In the populous islands of the eastern Archipelago, violence unceasingly occurs; and European civilization makes slow progress, solely by the want of measures which the barbarians are ever ready to respect, when power is combined with justice and benevolence.

British India, with all its progress, still demands the *system* which Mr. Fox called for half a century since; and in China, British honour has been rescued from imminent peril only by the devotedness of one enlightened Indian officer, Sir Henry Pottinger, who from his own courage and integrity supplied, in a most delicate conjuncture, that authority for the discharge of public duty, which the supineness of the government at home had failed to provide.

In every quarter, the general feature is disaster; and everywhere the good effected by isolated efforts is thwarted by atrocities more horrible than those of the *middle pas-*

sage; and of which acts whites as well as blacks are often victims; whilst the good sometimes done proves what might be accomplished.

The abolition of negro slavery in the British colonies, only the beginning of great efforts to civilize all barbarians connected with the British Isles.

To this simple catalogue of unexaggerated evils, there is no longer to be added British negro-slaving and slavery. The abolition of both, whatever differences may exist as to the mode pursued to effect it, and as to some of the results, has, incontestably, elevated a large mass of human beings, once deeply degraded, to a happy and improving condition. The warmest opponents of the principle of abolition, and our most zealous political antagonists,* admit the purity of the motives which originally prompted these noble efforts. The same motives may be safely appealed to in order to establish the greater reforms necessary to rescue far more numerous masses of men from a continuance of the difficulties and frequent misery into which a false system has plunged them throughout our colonial and Indian world. The abolitionists of slaving and slavery—that is to say, *the people of the British Isles*,—are the true protectors of the coloured aborigines, affected by British enterprise beyond sea; and protection can only be given upon a full understanding of facts.

Causes of the failure.

Above all, we must take a clear view both of our successes, and of the causes of our failure to discharge the admitted duty of civilizing, instead of oppressing, and even destroying, these weaker races. In examining these causes, it will be found, that the same error which led to the attempt to stop ALL *extension* of our power in India, has prevailed in an analogous, and equally useless, attempt to *separate* the savage and barbarian from civilized men elsewhere. In both cases it was the due guidance of the civilized men that was needed, not the abandonment of countries to which it is impossible to prevent their resort. The *system*

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* Letter of Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State at Washington, to the American Minister at Paris, 12 August 1844.

which Mr. Fox called for, in order to guide British enterprise in India, the philanthropists, and every other class of men in our day, ought to insist upon to save ourselves from dishonour and frequent injuries, and the natives from great disasters, both in India and everywhere else beyond sea.

Instead of seeking to perfect this system, a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1837, mainly representing the philanthropists, rested their hopes of improvement upon the exclusive agency of religious missionaries:*—thus placing excellent men in a false position, by making them politicians; and attempting to do through an incompetent section of society, what it will be difficult to effect by the undivided exertions of society at large.

Whilst this endeavour to invest the missionaries with political functions tending to their own extreme embarrassment, has been cherished, the philanthropists have also abstained from pressing the official reforms which they of all men the best know to be wanted;† and they have thrown away an opportunity of establishing such reforms on a safe basis. This opportunity arose upon the revival of an

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* The 8th suggestion of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1837 on Aborigines, declared that the safety of an uncivilized race requires its relations with more cultivated neighbours to be diminished rather than multiplied.

The 9th suggestion contains the following recommendation:

"Piety and zeal, though the most essential qualifications of a missionary to the aborigines, are not the only endowments indispensable to the faithful discharge of his office. In such situations it is necessary, that, with plans of moral and religious improvement, should be combined well-matured schemes for advancing the social and political improvement of the tribes, and for the prevention of any sudden changes injurious to the health and physical constitution of the new converts,"—a task for statesmen, not for missionaries.

† Our existing official system has been designated as "*a chapter of accidents,*" by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton; and a benevolent society has properly declared, that it is "an opinion founded rather on experience, than on any essential principle in the nature of the case, that the coloured races must inevitably perish as civilization and Christianity advance. Whatever past facts may be," they continue, "and unquestionably they are painful enough, they are not

interest on behalf of the aborigines of our colonies in the House of Commons in 1834; after the public and Parliament had long lost sight of the subject, and the Government had utterly abandoned its duty respecting it. The opportunity offered on this occasion to the *philanthropists*, who had themselves shared in the general neglect of the aborigines,* consisted in the good disposition of a powerful colonizing body, coinciding with an equally good disposition of Parliament to introduce a system which should avert great calamities and fatal collisions between colonists and aborigines. This occurred in 1838, when the New Zealand Association framed a system then submitted in a Bill to the House of Commons, containing elements capable by a few amendments of promoting, in the very highest degree, the general good. The public was then excellently disposed towards the subject, in consequence of an inquiry having been proceeded with during three Sessions in a Committee of the House of Commons, under the directions of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. Some of the colonies had taken a deep interest in the progress of that inquiry. The New Zealand Association's Bill was a practical result of the better spirit so raised in favour of humane policy towards the aborigines.

These were good tendencies, which the philanthropists and the Ministers of the Crown ought to have fostered;

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evidence that no better scheme of colonization can be found compatible with the safety and improvement of the Aborigines. We cannot admit the doctrine that the establishment of a civilized community in the neighbourhood of uncivilized tribes, *must* be injurious to the latter, without supposing something extremely defective and improper in the regulations and principles of the former. LET THESE BE CORRECTED, and THE EVILS MUST BE DIMINISHED."—1st Report of the Aborigines Protection Society, p. 26, 1838.

* The last occasion, before 1834, upon which the philanthropists appealed to Parliament on behalf of the aborigines, was in 1822, when Mr. Wilberforce called attention to the sufferings of the Hottentots, and succeeded. Their zeal on behalf of India slept from 1806 to 1844.

and they both committed a fearful error in their combined opposition to the New Zealand Bill, when the proper amendment of a few defects in it, and a suitable application of its best provisions in other quarters, must have produced the happiest revolution in our colonial affairs. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the authors of so admirable a measure, disappointed by the want of sympathy for their efforts, have since deserted the best of their own principles, as set forth in the Bill of 1838. Its main features were, first, a studious respect for the independence of the natives; secondly, its large scheme of measures for their improvement, and for the safe colonization of New Zealand. When Parliament refused to permit the association to be the instrument in following out these objects, and transferred that duty to the Minister of the Crown, the company which succeeded to the association should have directed all its great influence in Parliament to compel the Ministers to discharge that duty. The want of a system for these ends is the origin of the calamities of New Zealand; and the blame rests with all who have neglected the legitimate means in their power for establishing it.

At present, a chief point with the New Zealand Company, and with the large majority of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1844, is to act towards the natives as if they were *not* fit to be free agents; and all give up the system that would enable them to be free agents safely.

These great errors may be distinctly traced to a further error which it is far from impossible to correct.

The general ignorance of Indian and Colonial affairs arises from the refusal of historians to write upon the aborigines.

The common complaint, that the public, the Ministers, and Parliament are absolutely ignorant of Indian and Colonial affairs, has run into a proverb; and few deny, that in the last century ignorance was a very near cause of the maladministration which led to the American war, and of the acts for which Hastings was impeached. As great disasters of our days in India, and throughout our colonies,

spring from the same source. But it is less clearly perceived, that besides the general disinclination at home to understand such affairs, great historians, also, have habitually and expressly *refused* to examine the relations of the more civilized, with the less civilized races; although it is highly probable that such refusal tends directly to increase the ignorance which renders our policy destructive to those who are unable to resist our arms, and would willingly adopt our arts.

The fact of this avoidance of the subject may be shown in the examples of Bossuet,* Voltaire,† J. Von

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* On peut juger de l'humeur des Ethiopiens par une action que nous rapporte Hérodote. Lorsque Cambyse leur envoya, pour les surprendre, des ambassadeurs et des présens tels que les Perses les donnaient, de la pourpre, des bracelets d'or et des compositions de parfums, ils se moquèrent de ses présens, où ils ne voyaient rien d'utile à la vie, aussi bien que de ses ambassadeurs, qu'ils prirent pour ce qu'ils étaient, c'est à dire pour des espions. Mais leur roi voulut aussi faire un présent à sa mode au roi de Perse; et prenant en main un arc qu'un Perse eût à peine soutenu, loin de pouvoir le tirer, il le banda en présence des ambassadeurs, et leur dit: "Voici le conseil que le roi d'Ethiopie donne au roi de Perse. Quand les Perses se pourront servir aussi aisément que je viens de faire d'un arc de cette grandeur et de cette force, qu'ils viennent attaquer les Ethiopiens, et qu'ils amènent plus de troupes que n'en a Cambyse. En attendant, qu'ils rendent grâces aux dieux qui n'ont pas mis dans le cœur des Ethiopiens le désir de s'étendre hors de leur pays." Cela dit, il débanda l'arc et le donna aux ambassadeurs. On ne peut dire quel eût été l'événement de la guerre: Cambyse, irrité de cette réponse, s'avança vers l'Ethiopie comme un insensé, sans ordre, sans convois, sans discipline, et vit périr son armée faute de vivres, au milieu des sables, avant que d'approcher l'ennemi.

Ces peuples d'Ethiopie n'étaient pourtant pas si justes qu'ils s'en vantaient, ni si renfermés dans leur pays: leurs voisins les Egyptiens avaient souvent éprouvé leurs forces. Il n'y a rien de suivi dans les conseils de ces nations sauvages et mal cultivées: si la nature y commence souvent de beaux sentimens, elle ne les achève jamais. Aussi n'y voyons-nous que peu de choses à apprendre et à imiter. N'en parlons pas davantage, et venons aux peuples policés.—Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle, Part. iii., ch. 3; Works, T. 9, p. 300.

† Ce que nous savons des Gaulois par Jules-César et par les autres auteurs romains nous donne l'idée d'un peuple qui avait besoin d'être

Muller,* and Sismondi;† to whom curious additions might be made. The general ignorance, which has resulted from this neglect, will be sufficiently established by one high authority, that of Niebuhr, who, with a marvellous disregard of facts, says, without qualification, that when civilization *has been* forcibly introduced among savage people, from without, the physical decay of the race has been the consequence; as among the Natticks, the Guaranis, the missions of New California, and the Cape;" adding, "that God has assigned to every race of men its destination, with the character befitting it, and the stamp which marks it. The savage," Niebuhr concludes, "either has degenerated,

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soumis par une nation éclairée. Les dialectes du langage celtique étaient affreux: l'empereur Julien, sous qui ce langage se parlait encore, dit, dans son Misopogon, qu'il ressemblait au croassement des corbeaux.

Il faut détourner les yeux de ces temps sauvages, qui sont la honte de la nature.

Vous avez donc grande raison de vouloir passer tout d'un coup aux nations qui ont été civilisées les premieres.—Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs, T. 2, Avant-Propos.

* J. Von Muller, in his General History, after mentioning the northern barbarians, with a few interesting facts, expressly defers further particulars *until the period should arrive when they should influence the rest of mankind.* Vol. i., b. 1, c. 7, p. 34. In subsequent chapters, the early times of their conflicts with the Romans are entirely lost sight of, so that the lessons are lost, which the record of those conflicts would afford, to aid mankind in averting the like evils in the like cases, at present occurring on the borders of the whole civilized world.

† In the English abridgment of his great work on the Italian republics, Sismondi says, "The history of the state of Europe for a long period after the fall of the Roman empire, offers but little of real instruction; and upon it perhaps it may be as well not to dwell. Useful history—that of which the knowledge should be universally diffused—begins only with the period when the victors and vanquished, inhabitants of the same country, were *fused* into one people, and still more decisively when they became united by a single band, the public good, at the period when the government belonged to the people, and not the people to the government."—C. Troya (Storia d'Italia, Naples, 1839,) attempts to supply the omissions of Sismondi.

or is originally but half human; an opinion worthy of the darkest ages."*

But Gibbon offers, perhaps, the most instructive illustration of this error. He proved, indeed, in numerous brilliant passages of his history, that he perfectly comprehended the advantage of setting forth the relations of the barbarians with Rome, in the amplest detail, and with the most careful precision; and he wisely declared the value of the lessons so taught, by remarking that "as long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves on the subjects of modern deliberation." Nevertheless he furnishes at the very same time a strong instance of his own neglect of those subjects. "*The most experienced statesman of Europe*," he adds, "has never been summoned to consider the propriety or the danger of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of barbarians, driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement in the territories of a civilized nation."† So far from this being true, it would not be difficult to point out *many such cases;* and it is not a little remarkable that one of them ultimately attracted great attention in his own time. It was *that of the Rohillas in India,* — parallel in all material respects to that of the Goths under the Emperor Valens; and the Governor General of India dealt with the case of the Rohillas, so cruelly and unjustly, as to expose himself by it to one of the most dangerous charges in his impeachment. The explanation of the oversight is, that although Mr. Gibbon, as a Lord of Trade and Plantations, must have had good means of information at his command on the subject, and as an enlightened inquirer, he cannot

* Niebuhr, History of Rome, translated by Hare and Thirlwall, vol. i. p. 65.

† The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 42.

be supposed to have been careless of the important events of his time, when brought before him, there was then no *official* habit of becoming familiar with our remote dependencies. Therefore, when afterwards the historian recognized a great principle readily enough, as he was writing the passage above quoted, he was ignorant of what "modern statesmen" have experienced. So, probably, at this moment not a single member of the Cabinet, nor one of their rivals, knows, that another parallel case to that of the Goths, has been upon our hands in South Africa during the last twenty years; and that, for want of consulting the dictates of old experience, the most awful calamities have been inflicted upon numerous bodies of our fellow men in that region, of whites as well as blacks, through our gross neglect.

How fatally, gross ignorance of the capacity of barbarians to become civilized may influence the conduct of affairs, and increase the difficulty of their transition to an improved condition, will be seen in the following brief quotation from an official document.

"No METHOD," it asserts, "HAS YET BEEN FOUND, *which has proved successful for the civilization of savages brought into contact with Europeans;* NOR, CONSEQUENTLY, HAS ANY SYSTEM FOR THEIR MANAGEMENT SUBSEQUENTLY TO CIVILIZATION YET BEEN TRIED.* So far from this beng correct, our Colonial and Indian history, with all its faults, abounds in cases directly contradicting this statement of the Land and Emigration Commissioners. The Hottentots and Bushmen of the Cape, the wilder Bhils of India, and even the devoted New Hollanders, have abundantly refuted it by their steady progress, whenever suitable means

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* 30 April 1842, Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners to Lord Stanley, rejecting the Rev. Montague Hawtrey's excellent plan for the welfare of the natives of New Zealand.

have been employed for their improvement; and if, instead of confiding too much to the good influence of religious missions, the philanthropists had steadily called for a better *system* of law and administration respecting all aborigines, the good done by the missionaries, which can hardly be overrated in itself, would have been far more extensive in its effects.. From the beginning of the 16th century, British subjects have gone among savages, and savages have come among civilized British subjects in all quarters. From the middle of the 17th century, Protestant missions have laboured earnestly, and often with great success, to spread Christianity and civilization among savages. Nevertheless, extensive ruin still accompanies our progress. The cause is plain: the checks to violent passions on both sides, and the means of civilizing the savage, and humanizing his oppressor, *which it is the office of good government to provide*, have never yet been studied by philanthropists, nor attempted to be carried out in practice by statesmen. Hence the conflict between those whose territorial extension is irresistible in our colonies and in India, and the philanthropists, who might assist to guide what ought not to be stopped; and hence the errors in many quarters which must be corrected, in order to make our territorial extension as safe and just as it is irresistible, and our philanthropy as wise and useful as it is benevolent. Besides all this, our vain attempts to stop colonies, and our neglect of measures to render them beneficial to all, destroy our good influence, which otherwise must give a new character to the *extension* of French, Russian, and American territory—at present as ill-regulated and as irresistible as our own.

III.

The first step towards correcting past errors, and to establish satisfactory relations with barbarous tribes.—A complete survey of the history of British relations with barbarous tribes from the earliest periods useful.—A collection of classical authorities respecting the civilized ancients with the barbarous inhabitants of the British Isles, a fit introduction to that survey.

The knowledge of all material facts is indispensable to the safe administration of colonial and Indian affairs.

THE wisest men have settled the course calculated to correct these errors.

ROGER BACON, A.D. 1260.

So early as in the 13th century,—a period of great efforts to extend Christianity,—Roger Bacon declared in a few most remarkable words, that to secure the safety of all who for that, or other objects, go to remote regions, the first thing is to ascertain the nature of their climate, and the character of their people;—an injunction so simple,* that it is incredible how in our own days the great expedition to the Niger could possibly have been planned, as it was, in disregard of the principle of common sense which dictated Roger Bacon's rule.

LORD SOMERS, A.D. 1697.

In the 17th century, Lord Somers induced Parliament to adopt a plan, which had the same objects in view; and during about 12 years that plan was executed, until the jealousies of party caused its abandonment. It con-

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* Hæc cognitio locorum mundi valde necessaria est reipublicæ fidelium et conversioni infidelium et ad obviandum infidelibus et antichristo, et aliis. Nam propter diversas utilitates reipublicæ et propter prædicationem fidei mittuntur homines ad loca mundi diversa, in quibus occupationibus valde necessarium est proficiscentibus, ut scirent complexiones locorum extraneorum, quatenus scirent eligere loca temperata, per quæ transirent. Nam valentissimi homines aliquando ignorantes naturam locorum mundi seipsos Christianorumque negotia peremerunt, eo quod loca nimis calida in temporibus calidis, aut nimis frigida in frigidis transierunt. Receperunt etiam pericula infinita, eo quod nesciverunt, quando intraverunt regiones fidelium, quando schismaticorum, quando Saracenorum, quando Tartarorum, quando tyrannorum, quando hominum pacificorum, quando barbarorum, quando hominum rationabilium.—Rogeri Bacon, Opus Majus, fol., 1733, p. 189.

sisted of periodical reports, at brief intervals, concerning all colonial affairs; and those reports were printed in the Journals.*

Mr. Burke is a high authority to the same effect. His sound judgment in colonial affairs, acquired by long experience, and especially as the agent of New York, in which character he watched over the interests of every race; and in Indian affairs, where a near relative was agent to a native prince, had proved to him the great evils of ignorance upon those affairs.† He well knew the extent of the facilities existing in our times for obtaining that exact intelligence on the subject, which alone will ensure the success of any policy.‡

Mr. Burke, 1780.

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* Journals of the House of Commons, 1697, vol. xii. p. 70, 425–440; vol. xiii. p. 299, 446, 502, 721, 755, 802; vol. xv. p. 420, 436; vol. xvi. p. 536, &c.

† So Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, wrote to Mr. Burke in 1784:—"I doubt that the true picture of things here, which I have given, is by no means more agreeable at home than it is at Madras; but *I so well know, that the loss of America originated in the ignorance and want of just information in Ministers*, that I could not conscientiously withhold such communications and opinions as I imagined might at least guard them against similar errors, if not lead them into the right road."—Burke's Correspondence, v. iii. p. 27.

‡ In a letter of Mr. Burke to Dr. Robertson on the History of America, he says: "The part which I read with the greatest pleasure is the discussion on the manners and characters of the inhabitants of that new world. I have always thought with you, that we possess at this time very great advantages towards the knowledge of human nature. We need no longer go to history to learn it in all its periods and stages. History, from its comparative youth, is but a poor instructor. When the Egyptians called the Greeks children in antiquities, we may well call them children; and so we may call all those nations which traced the progress of society only within their own limits. But now the great map of mankind is unravelled at once, and there is no state or gradation of barbarism, and no mode of refinement which we have not, at the same instant, under our view. The very different civility of Europe and of China,—the barbarism of Persia and Abyssinia,—the erratic manners of Tartary and Arabia,—the savage state of North America and of New Zealand:—Indeed, you have made a noble use of the advantages you have had. You

Sir James Macintosh, A.D. 1800.

Sir James Macintosh, with similar opportunities of forming a sound judgment upon the subject, held the same opinions respecting it. Deeply versed in the law of nature and nations, which he had expounded to the admiration of many enlightened hearers, and returning home after practical experience as an Indian judge, it was a public misfortune that he never worked out his own early lessons upon this important chapter of that law. The ideas unfolded in his lectures, were learned in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, when just and philanthropic views were every where taking a strong hold of men's minds. The universities used to select philanthropic topics for their prizes. Voyagers and travellers in savage lands had made deep impressions in Europe by their narratives. Ferguson had written his fine essay on the History of Civil Society, in which the errors of Rousseau, as to the perfections of the savage man, were corrected; and where the prospect of his steady, although slow, progress towards civilization is displayed, perhaps, in the most attractive manner ever penned.* Poetry had made this theme peculiarly her own; and Cowper and Campbell†

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have employed philosophy to judge of manners, and from manners you have drawn new resources for philosophy. I only think that, in one or two points, you have hardly done justice to the savage character."—Burke's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 163.

* A sixth edition of this book was published in 1793.

† Long after Mr. Campbell wrote the Pleasures of Hope and Gertrude of Wyoming, he did justice to the appeal of a young Indian, in a manner few but the writer of those poems could have done. The *savage* wished to repair his father's reputation, which had been tarnished by Mr. Campbell's pen. The subject has since been discussed in America; and the following anecdote, told in a volume printed at Boston, is a satisfactory confirmation of the propriety of the appeal. The English commander of a military party, under which the chief Brant, the young Indian's father, was fighting, entering a house, ordered a woman and a child to be killed; but Brant said, "*What! kill a woman and a child!* No! that child is not an enemy to the king, nor a friend to the congress. Long before he will be big enough

had almost hallowed the claims of the negro and the Indian to our kindly sympathies by the devotions of genius.

In this state of public feeling, Sir James Macintosh eloquently vindicated the true character of the law of nature, with its "sacred master-principles, which are the guardians of human society;"—and some "faint reverence for which may be discovered," as he declares, "among the most barbarous tribes, regulating, in greater or less perfection, the intercourse of savages." He based this correct judgment upon the advantages possessed in *his time*, beyond those enjoyed by Grotius and Leibnitz and "the celebrated jurists of the seventeenth century. Since their days, vast additions were made to the stock of our knowledge of human nature; many dark periods of history explored; many unknown regions visited and described. . . . . History," he concludes, "is now a vast museum, in which specimens of every variety of man may be studied."

The same period produced in Germany a greater genius —Herder—in whose magnificent fragment,* "The Philosophy of History," every topic bearing upon the relations of men in all stages of society was discussed, to illustrate the sound opinions, that nothing will really improve the uncivilized portions of the human race so well as a good system in *all* our relations with them; and that all our efforts to frame such a system must be based upon exact knowledge of facts. Herder fully appreciated the worth of religious missionaries, and he denounced in the warmest language the cruelties inflicted by colonists upon the aborigines. But he insisted upon the necessity of reforming our laws and our administration so as to direct well all the

HERDER.

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to do any mischief, the dispute will be settled." Drake's Book of the Indians, 1837, b. v., p. 90. See New Monthly Magazine, vol. iv., for 1822, p. 97.

* In an edition of this work by J. Von Muller, extracts are given from supplemental chapters left by Herder in manuscript.

influences of civilized society, in order to protect barbarians from oppression, to elevate them in character and condition, and to substitute their civilization for their barbarism.

The good principle interrupted.

These excellent dispositions of the last century were rendered vain by the influence of the wars of the French Revolution; and our incongruous laws continued unchanged, to embarrass the good progress of the missionaries among savages in all parts of the world; whilst our administrations in the colonies, and in Downing-street, persevered in the gravest errors; and Parliament and the public carelessly allowed the worst principles to lead to the most disastrous practices.

Official records habitually unknown.

Up to the present moment, it is only when some peculiar calamity compels attention to these subjects, that even authentic documents upon them are published; so that we are unfurnished with common elements of knowledge wherewith to meet such emergencies. Hence Committees of Parliament fall into the most surprising misapprehensions; and hence even the Government is unable either to apply a safe corrective to the grossest errors, or duly to extend well-tried improvements.*

Analyses of colonial intelligence.

It has been formally proposed† to change this by pre-

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* A ludicrous account of the inconveniences occasioned by the practice of deferring Parliamentary inquiries until they are undertaken on the spur of some pressing event, may be seen in Walpole's Correspondence, 1840, vol. 3, p. 283.

† This proposal was made to the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons in 1837, and repeated in a volume entitled "British Colonization and Coloured Tribes," published by the author in 1838, p. 271. It was again submitted to the Secretary of State in 1841, with the strong support of various individuals of great experience. The utility of this proposal is demonstrated in the remarkable coincidence of calamities in the colonies, with a parsimonious and desultory disclosure of colonial intelligence; and by the general ignorance resulting from so unsatisfactory a system. Two documents, published by the House of Commons in the present year, show how fatally ignorance of the facts perverts the best intentions, and how long official prejudice may prevail when the truth

paring good analyses of all colonial despatches, and of other intelligence, so that speedily after every arrival from the colonies, an exact view may be taken of the material events which mark the course and character of our policy. The prudent publication of such analyses would lead to the formation of a sound and impartial public opinion upon all that passes in the most remote parts of the world.

A complete survey of the history of the relations of the British Isles with barbarians useful.

It will further tend to improve public opinion on the whole subject, if a complete survey be also taken of the history of the relations of the British Isles with barbarians, from the earliest ages to the present. In the lapse of time almost every case, now interesting to us, has occurred in that history over and over again, so that here light may be easily obtained for our guidance in the settlement of difficulties parallel to those of old.

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is concealed in the public archives. Lord Stanley, in lately vindicating the right of the natives to the soil of New Zealand, has declared that their case differs essentially from the natives of Australia. "The aborigines of New Holland," says Lord Stanley to the Governor of New Zealand, "generally roam over boundless extents of country, with no principle of civil government, *or recognition of private property*. It is impossible to admit, on the part of a population so situated, *any rights in the soil*, which should be permitted to interfere with the subjugation, by Europeans, of the vast wilderness over which they are scattered." House of Commons Papers for 1845, No. 1, p. 1.

This was written by Lord Stanley, in the Colonial Office, at a time when the Government possessed the clearest and best unpublished testimony to the direct contrary, of the date of 1839.

"As subjects, with ourselves, of one and the same Sovereign," said Governor Hutt of Western Australia to Lord Glenelg, "justice and humanity require, that the aborigines of Australia should participate with us in the benefit of the leading principles of the English constitution, *perfect equality before the law, and full protection of their lives and liberties*—I cannot add PROPERTIES, because the only substantial *property* they ever did possess is the *soil*, OVER EACH SEPARATE PORTION OF WHICH, SOME INDIVIDUAL CLAIMS AN INHERITED RIGHT, *and of this we have long ago divested them*, NOT BEING AWARE OF SUCH CLAIMS."—Paper relative to the Aborigines, Australian Colonies; House of Commons Papers, 1, 1844, No. 627, p. 363, distributed in March 1845.

The classical authorities respecting the communications of the civilized ancients with the barbarous people of the British Isles, a fit introduction to that survey.

This volume contains a collection of passages in the classics concerning Great Britain and Ireland, and the islands connected with both, along with various illustrations, to show the manner in which the civilized ancients treated our barbarous forefathers. These remains furnish us with valuable lessons, and may contribute materially towards forming the details of the system of humane policy, so much needed by us in situations strongly resembling that, in particular, of the Romans in Britain. Most of those who conduct public affairs are familiar with classical associations; so that their sympathies will the more readily respond to the claims of humanity, if well enforced by classical recollections; and studies begun for amusement will end with instruction.

IV.

Communications between the ancient civilized world and the British Isles to the time of Julius Cæsar.—Trade in tin.*—Phœnicians.—Argonauts.—Homer.—Hecatæus.—Herodotus.—Aristotle. — Pytheas.—Eratosthenes.— Scymnus.—Polybius.—Lucretius.—Coinage, not shipping, in Britain, before Cæsar's invasion.

Works of primæval art in the British Isles.

The existence of communications between the more civilized ancients and the British Isles, previously to the 5th century B. C., is established mainly by inferences from the ruins of hewn rocks; from vast structures; from analogies of language; from remains of art of an undoubtedly remote antiquity, and from the Druidical institutions;—all of which are thought to connect our western with the eastern world, and to bring home to us traces of some of the earliest events recorded in history. Least of all can any reasonable doubt be entertained of the existence of a trade from the Mediterranean to the

* It is here assumed that the *tin* of Scripture and the Classics is the same with ours, which has been doubted.—*See* Beckmann's History of Inventions, vol. iv. p. 1.

Atlantic Ocean, and of the introduction of some improvement into the British Isles long before Cæsar's invasion; although the origin and extent of both are veiled in deep obscurity.

Tin, although known to the Phœnicians and Greeks before 500 B.C., not exclusively obtained from the Cassiterides, or British Isles.

This obscurity may in some measure be cleared up by the history of the remarkable product, Tin, which was amongst the spoil taken by the Israelites near Sidon and Tyre, so early perhaps as 1450 years B. C.;* and it occurs more than once in Homer in 900 B. C.† It is also familiarly mentioned by Isaiah in 750 B. C.‡

These notices much precede the most distinct connection of the trade in Tin from Greece with the British Isles, even if, as is probable, the Cassiterides were part of them.§ But although Pliny carries the Phœnicians to the Cassiterides for lead,‖ he considers the Greek accounts of *Tin* coming from the Atlantic as fabulous;¶ and it was certainly obtained elsewhere, before being found in Britain.**

The foregoing facts might carry our intercourse with eastern civilization to an extremely remote date; and the western trade of the Phœnicians is even connected by an old and high authority†† with the names of several of the sons of

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* Numbers xxxi., v. 22.

† Iliad xi., v. 25; xviii., v. 474, 612; xxi., v. 592; and xxiii., v. 561.

‡ Isaiah i., v. 25.

§ Herodotus, iii. c. 115. Dr. O'Connor's Rerum Hibernicarum veteres Scriptores, Prolegomena, pars i., p. 1.

‖ Nat. Hist., lib. vii., c. 56.

¶ Ib. lib. xxxiv., c. 47, 8, 9.

** Ib., and Strabo iii., c. 9. Agricola (de Metallis, lib. ii., p. 834) states that tin was got in Bohemia, Saxony, Spain, and India. At present Saxony is the only state in Germany that produces Tin. Statistics of German Trade by Dr. Dieterici. Berlin, 1838, p. 378. Ib. ed. 1842, p. 307. Ezekiel xxvii., v. 12, 13, is cited by Dr. Arnold, as proving that "tin and lead" came from Spanish *mines*, when it only states them to be sent from a Spanish port, Tarshish, to Tyre. History of Rome, vol. 3, p. 392. In the Sylva Antiqua Iscana, by Capt. Shortt of Exeter, p. 79–84, the learning on this subject is elucidated from late discoveries.

†† Ezekiel xxvii., v. 13.

Japhet, to one of whom, Gomer,* the Cymri of ancient Britain have been traced.† One of the most ingenious theories also, explanatory of many remains and observances in the British Isles, rests upon traditions of a primæval navigation into the Atlantic Ocean.‡

The rude mining instruments found in Ireland and in the west of England seem to be traceable to an high antiquity; and one of the most curious circumstances in regard to these instruments is, their resemblance to those of known eastern origin.

Bochart's traces of the Phœnicians in Britain.

Bochart constructed a map of the commerce of the Phœnicians from Ceylon to Iceland. Combining biblical records with classical mythology, and the testimony of the fathers with etymological researches, approved by modern science, he built up a theory which justifies much of the pretensions of our most sanguine antiquaries in regard to the familiarity of the *remotest* civilized ancient world with the British Isles. "Japhet," says Bochart§, "is Neptune, whose portion of the "earth was the Isles," which included Britain and Ireland. "Upon this point the positive authority of Lactantius is "supported by Euhemerus, an old Greek writer, translated "by Ennius. Japhet and Neptune, or Poseidon, he con- "tinues, have the same meaning in Syriac, Arabic, and "Phœnician, namely, that of migrants; and the word *Bri-* "*tannica*‖ is derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician *Barat-* "*anac*, or 'the land of tin and lead,' *anac* meaning both."

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* Genesis x., v. 2.

† Camden's Brit., p. 10. On this see the Cambro-Briton, v. 1, p. 373.

‡ The Doctrine of the Deluge, by the Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt.

§ Geographia Sacra, c. 1, p. 9, 332, 648, 650.

‖ Modern critics are disposed to derive the name of *Britain* from *Britt*, a Celtic word, still used in Brittany, Cornwall, and the Gaelic, for "painted" or "variegated." *Celtica*, by Dr. Diefenbach, Stuttgart, 1839, part 1, p. 220; and *Britannia after the Romans*, London, 1834, p. li. So a learned French author revives the old opinions stated in Camden (p. 5.), to show, from the identity of name, that many of

Among other reasons for his opinion that the Phœnicians visited Britain, Bochart insists, upon "the testimony of "Tacitus, that the Silures of Britain came from Spain, where "the Phœnicians certainly had at least the colony of Tar-"shish, or Gades; and the word *Silur* is of Phœnician "origin." The result, indeed, of the inquiries of W. Von Humboldt into the character of the ancient language of Spain, is that the Aborigines of that country had no connexion with Britain.* But this, if admitted, does not disprove the *Phœnico*-Spanish voyages. The colonists, generally isolated, spoke a different language from that of the Aborigines; and it may have disappeared from the parts of Spain visited by W. Von Humboldt.

Conduct of the Phœnician voyagers to the barbarous people visited by them.

The conduct of the Phœnicians towards the barbarous tribes visited in their distant voyages, may be fairly estimated by that of their descendants and colonists, the Carthaginians.† The proceedings of Himilco in Britain are not recorded by R. F. Avienus, from whose poems these extracts open. But the narrative of Hanno's contemporary expedition to the western coasts of Africa is preserved; and it offers little that differs from the worst transactions of modern explorers on this head.‡ This sufficiently accounts for the unquestionable fact of the enterprise of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians in the

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the Britons came from Gallic tribes of the same name. De Courson, Histoire des Origines des Peuples de la Gaule Armoricaine, et de la Bretagne Insulaire. Paris, 1843, p. 22.

* Dr. Arnold's History of Rome, b. 1, p. xii.

† *See* note in page viii., as to the hostility of the natives of Spain and Africa, in revenge for injuries inflicted on them by the Carthaginians.

‡ The first Nomade tribe they reached was friendly, and furnished Hanno with *interpreters*. At length they discovered a nation *whose language was unknown to the interpreters*. These strangers they attempted to seize; and upon their resistance, they took three of the women, whom they put to death and carried their skins to Carthage. Geogr. Græci Minores, Paris, 1826, p. 115.

west of Europe, not having carried civilization beyond those isolated settlements with which the natives had little sympathy, and therefore derived little lasting improvement from their influence.

The Argonautics of Orpheus.

The Argonauts followed the Phœnicians. The account of the Argonautic expedition, bearing the name of Orpheus, extends it in express terms to Ireland, and perhaps to Albion; but it seems to be almost decisive against the great antiquity of this and every other record of that extraordinary maritime event, (if its reality can be maintained), that the name of *British* Isles, and even the famous production of tin, cannot be detected in them. Although, however, the doubts concerning the true date of this poem are strong, its *basis* certainly preceded Homer; and the description of the British seas in it was probably formed upon Phœnician materials. An extract from it is the second passage in this collection. The lesson of humanity which has been perceived in the story of the Argonauts,* is too valuable to be passed over without notice, in recording the annals of an early maritime adventure, whatever motives may have extended it to the British Isles, or even if the year 550 B. C. be much too early for its composition.† Burman, the old Dutch editor of the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, earnestly vindicates the humanity of the theme, which he recommends to the poets of Spain and Portugal, England and Holland. "The very same unprincipled and plundering expeditions," he says, "which the historians of antiquity record and reprove, have been revived in our days by people calling

Lesson of humanity.

* "Others would signify by Jason, wisdom and moderation, which overcome all perils."—Raleigh's Hist. of the World, p. 365. But Jason's treatment of Medea has been well denounced. Mrs. Jameson's Characteristics of Woman, vol. ii. p. 342.

† If, as is argued by some authorities, Onomacritus wrote the poem in the 6th century B. C., it could hardly have escaped Herodotus a century later.

themselves christians, to the ruin and enslaving of remote tribes who never harmed us. If writers were to arise among us capable of recalling a sense of duty to our minds on behalf of these poor people, it would be equally honourable to our literature and to our moral character."*

Professor Schlosser's profound remarks upon the Orphic Argonautics, and other Orphic works, conclude with an opinion few will controvert, that even if a portion of them were written after our era, they all contain extremely ancient ideas, and an ancient character.† This opinion is confirmed by a quotation from Demosthenes in Taylor's Pausanias,‡ to the effect that according to the doctrines of Orpheus in the Mysteries, Justice surveys the deeds of men from the house of Jupiter; expressions still preserved in the hymns of Orpheus.

The Iernis in the Orphica (vers. 1171) has long been held by impartial and learned writers§ clearly to mean Ireland; and another passage (vers. 1194) seems to mean Britain.‖ Dr. O'Connor thinks that the fact of *Ireland* being thus mentioned in the Orphic Argonautics, proves the work to have been written later than the time of Herodotus;¶ and the first of the ancients who quoted it is said to have been Tatian, in the second century after the birth of Christ.** These circumstances, together with the unquestionable fact, that Apollonius Rhodius, the author of another poem on the

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* Preface of P. Burman to P. Valerius Flaccus, cxxv.

† Professor Schlosser's Ancient History, v. 1, p. 316; Frankfort, 1826. But he adds: "One point is clear; after 656 B. C., when the ancient mysteries began to decline, and still more after 576 B. C., down to the Roman Emperors, the fabrication of ancient poetry, philosophy and fables was not less skilfully carried on than the fabrication of old coins and other old works of art in later days."

‡ Vol. iii., p. 275, note.

§ Defence of the ancient History of Ireland, by the Earl of Rosse, p. 81, citing Camden, Usher, Bochart, Schottus, and Stephanus.

‖ Camden's Britannia, p. 3.

¶ Dr. O'Connor's Prolegomena, p. 1.

** Ib.

same subject, who flourished in 244 B. C., long after the alleged date of the Orphic Argonautics,* carries his heroes from the Black Sea and by the Rhone, not by the Northern Ocean, to the Mediterranean, throw great doubt upon the extreme antiquity of the poem extracted in the text.

The Hyperboreans, now generally held to be creatures of Greek fable,† have been fixed by zealous antiquaries in one of the British Isles;‡ and notwithstanding the rejection of ancient traditions concerning them, it seems desirable to give prominence to the passage in Diodorus Siculus§ usually quoted in support of that opinion.

Homer. A passage in the Odyssey‖ has given rise to singular criticisms and conjectures.

Strabo¶ thinks it means certain settlements of the Phœnicians, identical with the land of the Hyperboreans.

Isaac Tzetzes** and John Tzetzes†† think it means Britain; and they support their opinion by a fable of some fishermen, who, instead of paying tribute, carried the souls of the dead to Britain.

It has also been thought that Britain is alluded to in the 24th book of the Odyssey,‡‡ describing the passage of the ghosts of Penelope's suitors by "the dreary way of the ocean and the *Leucadian* rocks, the Sun's gate, and the land of dreams."

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* Orphei Argonautica, by Schneider, Jenæ, 1803. Orphica, by Hermannus, Lipsiæ, 1805. Mannerts's Geography, v. 2, p. 3.

† C. O. Muller's Mythology, by Leitch, p. 257.

‡ The History of the Druids, by Toland, p. 191. The Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt thinks that the Hyperboreans of Pindar were the inhabitants of the British Isles. The Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. ii., p. 182.

§ Lib. i. c. 47.

‖ Odyssey, b. 4, v. 563.

¶ Strabo, 3, cap. 2, 512.

** Ad Lycop. 1204.

†† Ad Hesiod. Ἐργ. 171; and Procopius de B. G. 4, 20.

‡‡ Odyss. lib. xxiv., l. 11; and J. Barnes, ad Euripidis Helenam, v. 1692.

But Homer's real Atlantic geography is limited perhaps to the instructions of Circe to Ulysses, who, after sailing from her abode, was soon to

. . . . . "reach old Ocean's utmost ends,
Where to the main the shelving shore descends;
The barren trees of Proserpine's black woods."*

To this Ulysses adds:

"When, lo! we reach'd old Ocean's utmost bounds,
Where rocks control his waves with ever-during mounds.
There on a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances or retreats;
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades."†

Although, therefore, it has been thought that Homer's knowledge of geography extended even to America;‡ the more probable opinion is, that the Mediterranean was the sole scene of the exploits of his heroes; which is supported by an impression that the passages showing some acquaintance with the Western Ocean are interpolations of a late age;§ as the voyage of Ulysses to the German Ocean is unquestionably a mere fiction,‖ however ancient.

Hecatmus and Scylax.

The remains of the Greek geographers who flourished between the times of Homer and Herodotus, prove that they were ignorant of the existence of the British Isles; and Herodotus was certainly not acquainted with their names, his knowledge of the extreme west being limited to the fact, that *Tin* was obtained at the Cassiterides, which were islands in the north-western sea. This ignorance arose from the policy of the Phœnicians, and from that of

Herodotus, 5th century B.C.

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* Pope's Odyssey, b. x., l. 516; Odyssey K., l. 207–510.

† Pope's Odyss. b. xi., l. 13–20. Odyss. A. 13–19. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv., c. 47.

‡ Erasmus Schmidius, cited in Fabricius, Bibliotheca, v. 1, p. 537.

§ History of the Literature of ancient Greece, by K. Von Muller, Frankfort, 1840, p. 60.

‖ Tacit. Germania, c. 3.

the Carthaginians, who kept their voyages in the west of Europe secret, *in order to get the native commodities cheap.*

Aristotle, 4th century B. C.

Alexander contemplated obtaining a great maritime empire in the west; and the Athenians had before encountered many disasters in their attempt to establish their power in the same direction. His death defeated the design; but two works attributed to Aristotle notice the existence and names of the British Isles, and probably their tin and fisheries. When Tyre was taken, a Greek writer collected in its ruins the materials of a work on the wonders of Thule.

Diogenes.

From 300 B. C. to 55 B. C.

The Carthaginians prevented the Romans from making voyages into the Atlantic long after the time of Alexander the Great, but they could not stop the trade of the Greeks of Marseilles for British products through Gaul; and Pytheas of Marseilles opened the way beyond Britain by sea, in at least the 3d century B. C. Afterwards authentic materials existed from which the geographical position and the valuable produce of the country could be ascertained. Polybius proposed to write about the *tin* in the 2d century B. C.; and a century later, Lucretius was familiar with the climate before Julius Cæsar invaded Britain. The books which they must have consulted have perished; but two of the authors of greatest name, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, are mentioned in the text of this volume, and a list of the others known to us is inserted in the notes (G).

Scymnus, 100 B. C.

One of those earlier geographers, Scymnus of Chios, has very remarkable passages, which, although obscure, may perhaps refer to circumstances which belong to the British Isles, in common with other western countries of Europe.

"Gadeira," (Cadiz), he says,* "is an ancient emporium

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* Ταρτήσσος, ἐπιφάνης πόλις,
Ποταμόῤῥυτον κασσίτερον ἐκ τῆς Κέλτικης.
Scymnus, Description of the Earth, v. 160, &c.

of trade. Two days' sail beyond it lies Tartessus, a celebrated city, with a river which brings tin from the *Celts*. The land of the Celts comes next all round to the Sardinian sea; and it is the most westerly region on earth. It extends to the Scythians and Indians eastward." . . . "The Celts have adopted many Greek customs, from their frequent relations with Greece, and from their hospitable reception of Greek visitors. They are fond of music, which they think softens wild manners. Among them is to be seen a remarkable and lofty COLUMN, raised by the shore of a stormy promontory.* Near this column dwell the remotest of the Celts, called Veneti."—"Over against the Veneti are two islands, which appear to produce the best tin."† He gives also, expressly, a measurement of Britain as *an island*, and a particular description of its fruit. ‡

Phœnician intercourse with British Isles not humane.

The early intercourse of the Phœnicians and of all other eastern people with the British Isles, was not sufficiently humane to induce the natives to adopt their civilization, or to retain permanently a single eastern institution, except that of Druidism, which survived the wreck of the power of Rome in Britain, when its civilization utterly disappeared; as cases are not wanting of the return of polished Greeks to barbarism.

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* Τούτων δὲ κεῖται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη
Στήλη βόρειος· ἐστι δ' ὑψήλη πανῦ
εἰς κυματῶδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσ' ἄκραν.
Οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἔγγυς τόπους
Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἔσχατοι,
Ἐνέτοι.—Scymnus, Description of the Earth, v. 168.

† Δύο δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς (Ἐνέτους) εἰσι νήσοι κείμεναι, κασσίτερον αἳ δοκοῦσι κάλλιστον φέρειν.—v. 391.

‡ Σκύμνος δε ὁ Χῖος τὴν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσον λέγει σταδίων εἶναι τετρακοσίων τὸ περίμετρον· γίγνεσθαι δε ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ γεννήματα ἀπύρηνα, οἷον τὰς ἐλαίας πυρῆνας μή ἔχειν, μήδε βότρυς γίγαρτον, μήδε τὰ ἐμφερῆ τούτοις.—Apollonius Dyscolus Huds. p. 115; and Geog. Min. Græci a Gail. Paris, 1828, v. 2, p. 258.

V.

State of the Britons at the time of the Invasion of the Island by Julius Cæsar.

The west of Europe, so long closed against the Greeks and Romans, was completely opened by the fall of Carthage in 146 B. C. But new wars in Italy and in the east diverted the Romans for a century from following up, either by conquests, by settlements, or by trade, the advantages which they had gained with the extremest difficulty; and the intelligence concerning the western world, and especially Britain, which had certainly been extensive among the learned in Alexandria, seems gradually to have become confined to a few navigators.

The Britons somewhat advanced in civilization in 55 B. C.

The communications which the ancients kept up with the British Isles before Cæsar's invasion, had clearly elevated the natives above the condition of naked savages. They possessed some clothing, habitations, and even a metallic coinage, certainly of brass;* and perhaps of gold.† The last point has been settled by the correction of a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, the false reading of which during two centuries occasioned an erroneous conception of the degree of civilization reached by the ancient Britons. Engravings of this British coinage will be found in the plates. Another point cited in favour of the advancement of the Britons before Cæsar's time, seems to be also erroneous, although supported by the high authorities of Selden ‡ and Southey §, who think that a portion of the fleet destroyed by the Romans, when they defeated the Veneti, belonged to the Britons. The narrative does not

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* Pinkerton on Medals, 3d ed., 1808, vol. 1, p. 367.

† The Silver Coins of England, by Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., &c. 1841, p. 8.

‡ De Mari Clauso, l. 2, c. 2.

§ History of the Admirals, vol. 1., p. 6, 7.

expressly bear out this conclusion; and authentic testimony tends to rebut it.* Strabo is positive that Publius Crassus found the most civilized tribes destitute of ships, *which he taught them how to use.*† The native chronicles of the Welsh confirm this account;‡ and there are few stronger grounds of objection against the genuineness of Geoffry of Monmouth's History of Britain than his account of the early fleets of the British kings. The late period after Cæsar's invasion, to which the possession of small boats can be traced as peculiar to the inhabitants of the British Isles, seems to be conclusive against the opinion of their having shared the naval enterprises, or defence of the Veneti, beyond sending warriors to their succour in the ships of the Veneti themselves.

The Welsh Triads.

The Welsh Triads, from which the confirmation of this opinion upon the low state of navigation among the ancient Britons is taken, contain another fact of the greatest interest, and probably belonging to the ante-Roman period of our history. The practice of alliances with neighbouring tribes is known to have been familiar to the Britons before Cæsar's invasion; so that this guarantee of peace was not wanting in the intercourse of different tribes. The fact now referred to is still more important. It is the recorded distinction between friendly colonization, and conquests; and it represents the arrival of an eastern race in Britain without war, as opposed to the hostile invasion of the Romans. That eastern race, the Cymry, came *from the Summer country*;

Peaceful colonization in Britain, contrasted at an early period with invasions and conquests.

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* "When Cæsar invaded Britain, he thought he had reached a new world. At that time it possessed no ships fit for a sea fight; but the Romans, by their late maritime contests, were eminently skilled for war at sea as well as by land."—Eumenius, 5th Panegyric, A. D. 296, quoted by Dr. O'Conor, vol. 1, p. lxv.

† Strabo, iii. cap. v. s. 16, about 60 B. C.

‡ Cambro-Briton, ii., p. 389, and iii., p. 133. Corvinwr first made a ship with sails for the Cymry, 100 B. C.

and their leader, *Hu, the mighty*, "would not possess lands and dominions by fighting, but through justice." Three such tribes were called the TRIBES OF PEACE, "on account of their coming with mutual consent."* Hence followed a rule of "justice, where before all was done by favour, and hence law prevailed instead of might."†

These friendly tribes were followed by successive invaders, the third being the Romans, who, "through violence, continued in Britain 400 years," when they retired "to defend Rome against the Black invasion, never returning to Britain, but leaving their wives and children."‡

These statements were drawn up at least as early as the 7th century of our era, and it is in the highest degree probable that they were derived from genuine native traditions,§ in addition to the classical sources of information which may have contributed to this body of national records. A very ancient emblem of the leader in this successful enterprise of peaceful colonization is inserted in the plates; proving the early expression of wishes to honour a career of peace.

VI.

From the Invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar to the Conquests of Claudius. 55 B. C. to 42 A.D.

The invasions of Britain by Julius Cæsar, 54 and 55 B.C.

ROMAN CONQUESTS.

All intercourse between the civilized ancients and the Britons, previous to Julius Cæsar's invasion of the island, sinks into insignificance when compared with their subsequent connexion. The motive for that invasion has been disputed upon without reason. It took place when the pride of the Romans was reaching its height, along with their successes; and when they were seeking a poor com-

* The Cambro-Briton, vol. 1, p. 45, 47.
† Ib., p. 46.
‡ Ib., p. 50.
§ Ib., p. 7.

pensation for the downfall of their own liberties in the slavery of the whole world; and for the loss of their own virtue in its plunder. At this period, Pompey* had extended Roman power far into the east, and Cæsar had conquered all Europe in the west, both alike aiming at universal empire.

Cicero's testimony.

Cicero, who advocated, in the Senate, the continuance of Cæsar's absolute command, and corresponded with him during his sanguinary but triumphant progress, removes all doubt in regard to his motive for the invasion of Britain. The declared object was, that he might complete the work of universal conquest in the quarter in which he had already successfully begun it.† War was to be waged at any price, provided victory would extend the power of Rome.‡ If the barbarians refused to recognize her superiority, they were to be crushed, or even exterminated.§

Motive of Cæsar's invasion of Britain.

The indifference of the Romans to the natural rights of barbarians, like the Britons, is shown by the derision with which Cicero treats them.‖

Cicero could declaim upon the miseries of war;¶ but

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* Cn. Pompeii res gestæ omnes gentes, cum clarissimâ victoriâ, peragrassent; cujus tres triumphi testes essent, totum orbem terrarum nostro imperio teneri.—M. T. Cicero, pro Balbo, c. vi. 16; and Florus Epit., lib. iii. c. 5.

† Oratio pro L. C. Balbo, s. 64. Cæsar in iis est nunc locis, quæ regione, orbem terrarum; rebus illius gestis, imperium P. R. definiunt.

‡ Or. de Provinciis Consul. s. 52. C. Cæsar, non solum cum iis quos jam armatos contra P. R. videbat, bellandum esse duxit, sed totam Galliam in nostram ditionem esse redigendum.

§ Ib. s. 31. Possum de omni regione, de omni hostium genere dicere, nulla gens est, quæ non aut ita subacta sit, ut vix exstet; aut ita domita, ut quiescat; aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra, imperioque lætetur.

‖ Cic. Epist. ad Atticum, lib. v. ep. 20.

¶ "No plague is so destructive as that which man inflicts on man. The excellent and copious work of Dicæarchus, on the Mortality of the Human Race, proves that the amount of deaths by pestilence and famine, by floods and destructive animals, are exceeded incomparably by the number of those who fall by the sword."—Cic. De Officiis, lib. ii. c. v.

his own practice aggravated them; and his correspondence with Cæsar and others has been extracted largely, as the most valuable of all illustrations to show the spirit of Roman conquests. He well distinguishes the civilized from barbarous men; and the Romans, having in his time subdued all the civilized, reluctantly decided that the remaining barbarians were not worth the cost of conquest.

Confusion of principles and practice.

The advice of Cicero* to his brother, when going on provincial service, *to devote himself to the improvement of the barbarians*, was probably in accordance with the upright views abstractedly taken by a few of the duty of the Roman government toward those people. So, elsewhere,† Cicero says admirably, that since man is capable of doing great good or great evil to man, therefore it is our duty to cherish the kindly affections, and promote human improvement. But these good principles were thwarted by bad practice; and the discharge of this duty was rendered impossible by the single Roman institution of domestic slavery;—no country being too barbarous, or too poor, not to furnish slaves in sufficient number to be an incentive to the indulgence of the spirit of conquest. "Cæsar has ended the war in Britain," says Cicero to Atticus; "but not an ounce of silver, or other spoil, *except slaves*, could be found there."‡

The expectation Cæsar clearly entertained of obtaining in this new world the treasures of which Spain was drained, justifies the suspicion, that the complaint against the Britons of their having supported his enemies in Gaul was a pretence. Of the various accounts of this invasion still extant, either in contemporary or later writers, the Commentaries of Cæsar himself the most clearly represent his

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* Ep. ad Quint. Fr., lib. i. ep. 1.

† Cicero de Offic., ii. c. v.; and Cic. de Republ. iii. c. xiv.

‡ Dion Cassius has some passages which are extracted at much length in the text as remarkably illustrative of the spirit of Roman conquests.

attack upon the Britons, like those upon Gaul, as cruel and sanguinary; and the base principle of encouraging dissensions among the invaded tribes, in order to subdue them all, was relied upon everywhere by the Romans in Cæsar's time.

"Divide, et impera."

The communications of the Emperor Augustus with Britain, although he planned its conquest,* were limited to the visits of its native chiefs, and to the imposition of customs upon British exports and imports. Notwithstanding frequent passages in the classics of this period, relating to the Britons, uniformly designate them as rude barbarians, nevertheless, in common with the remotest nations of the east, who, being safe from the arms, voluntarily sought the friendship, of the Roman Emperor, they were by no means insensible to the attractions of Roman civilization. But it is to be inferred from the slaughter of Varus and his legions by the Germans, that Augustus had neither introduced a system of peace into the world, nor found the barbarians willing to submit to the rule of the sword. The Britons, indeed, ultimately became Roman only after a long and sanguinary resistance; proving, that if this crafty emperor had really formed the benevolent, unambitious designs attributed to him by some writers, and pretended by himself, he would have found a people in Britain capable of the best impressions; whilst their history, soon after the death of Augustus, also proved them susceptible of a high degree of civilization.

Augustus Cæsar, 31 B.C. to 14 A.D.

But there is no doubt that under the Emperor Augustus, as before, the Romans sought the dominion of the world, not its improvement.

The "*tu regere imperio*" of Virgil expressed their ruling principle of action; and their arrogance rendered it impossible that they should obtain the influence over the hearts

* This is stated positively by Dio, lib. liii. p. 512.

of mankind, without which empire can be extended only to the injury of the world. They were essentially selfish, and Roman. Once they prohibited foreign settlements, lest their colonies should outgrow the metropolis. When they abandoned this policy, they preferred overrunning the world as plunderers and oppressors to leading it to a higher state by justice and equality. They, therefore, outraged the better instincts of the barbarian, until they found in their fall that he too had bad passions to gratify, with superior power to enforce their indulgence.

The ancients studied the political and *social* character of the savage more closely than we have yet done;* but they never enough considered his strong tendency towards civilization, and his universal capacity to become civilized by proper means. The anecdote of the Thracian in Aulus Gellius is worth more for its indirect bearing upon the relations of savages with the more polished ancients, than for the moral purpose for which it is told, as it fixes in the mind the fact of those savages being eager for improvement.† Seneca has drawn a most striking general picture of the state of things in his time to the same effect, as to the good disposition of the savage, but suggesting a melancholy reflection upon the little that was done by the Romans to bring out the results naturally belonging to that good disposition. It is a clear and full account‡ of the intercourse of the Romans with the whole earth in the time of Seneca. They—the civilized—dispersed themselves over its vast surface, and all its uncivilized tribes thronged, he says, to Rome. This had long been going

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* The works of Herder, of the Forsters, who accompanied Captain Cook, and of Ferguson on the subject, are superior to any thing done by the ancients. But those works were written in the last century, and they are now universally neglected, if not forgotten.

† Aulus Gellius, lib. xix. c. xii.

‡ L. Annæi Senecæ Consolatio ad Helviam, c. vi.—x.

on, but with how little sympathy on either side, may be inferred from the fact that 80,000 of these wandering Romans were put to death in the preceding century at one time in the dominions of Mithridates.

Until Claudius Cæsar seriously revived the design of conquering Britain, its actual relations with the Continent seem to have remained the same as before the invasion of Julius Cæsar. But the attention of the civilized world was much drawn to it by the more extensive discussion of its condition and resources in various works which are still extant, such as Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, and Pomponius Mela. The books of Livy, and those, which probably were more interesting, of the African Prince Juba, with the eloquent work of Fabius Rusticus,* on British affairs, are lost. Medical science and agriculture seem to have been improved from the experience of the Britons;† and their field sports early contributed to those of the Romans.‡ The familiar use of *tin* in Italy at this period seems to establish the fact of a considerable trade then being carried on between the Mediterranean and the west of Britain; and a recent discovery of *tinned* vessels in a kitchen at Pompeii, fresh as from the workman's hands, tends to correct Beckmann, whose very valuable chapter on the subject contains some paradoxes founded upon the opinion that the Romans had no *tinned* utensils.§

14 to 42 A.D.

A map of the world, probably from extremely ancient sources, although itself only of the 13th century, is preserved in the cathedral at Hereford; and the portions representing the British Isles will be found among the plates. It is the more interesting as it bears the names of the

Ancient Maps.

* Tacit. Agricola, c. 10.

† See the Extracts from Dioscorides, Galen, and Pliny.

‡ See the Extracts from Gratius Faliscus on Hunting Dogs.

§ A History of Inventions, by John Beckmann, translated, 3d ed., vol. iv., pp. 14 and 32.

commissioners whom Æthicus* states to have been appointed by Julius Cæsar and his successors to survey the world. The use of maps was familiar to the Romans from the time that Marcellus brought the sphere of Archimedes from Syracuse.† Varro represents a party conversing in the temple of Tellus upon agiculture before a large map of Italy, painted on the walls of the building.‡ Propertius has a sweet picture of a Roman wife consoling herself in the absence of her husband in the wars, by following his steps upon the painted map of the Roman world unrolled before her.§ The great map of Agrippa is well known. That of Eumenius, at Autun, in Gaul, describes what modern science has scarcely yet realized; but the realization of his fine idea certainly exceeded the graphic powers of the ancients.‖ The maps in Ptolemy, if of his time, show that the ancients could not draw well what they knew well.

VII.

The establishment of the Romans in Britain.—Speedy improvement of the Britons, after an intimate acquaintance with the Romans. 42 to 100 A. D.

The British *barbarians* of Horace and Virgil, to whom Julius Cæsar offered nothing but the civilization of the sword, soon proved their capacity, and their estimation of

* Cosmographia, extracted in the text.

† Cic. de Repub. i. c. 14.

‡ M. Varronis, lib. i. c. 11, De Re Rusticâ.

§ Propertius, lib. iv., Eleg. iii., extracted in the text.

‖ Eumenii Oratio pro Instaur. Scholis, iv. c. xxi., extracted in the text. We do not possess any map of the British Isles, known to be drawn before the Romans sailed round the North of Caledonia under Agricola; and although verbal descriptions of a prior date establish clearly to us the insular character given to them in the oldest books, the Romans were doubtful on this point in Cæsar's time. The Peutinger tables, extracted in this volume, are thought to contain a portion of the earliest map of Britain preserved to us.

every kind of advancement. Juvenal* and Martial† bear witness to the intellectual progress and the good taste of the Britons; and if a just and moderate system of intercourse with a more advanced people had been established in their favour, their improvement must have been far more rapid and lasting.

The intercourse which did take place between them and the Romans was of a very different character. The horrible oppression of the heroic Caractacus, and still more, their outrages upon Boadicea, will eternally disgrace "the masters of the world,"‡ notwithstanding the brilliancy of their centuries of conquests; and such nefarious deeds amply justify the satire of Seneca at the pretensions of the emperor Claudius, to *romanise* the Britons, with all other nations.§

Loans of money to barbarians.

The avarice of Seneca, whose practice, like Cicero's, was less pure than his precepts, affords us evidence of the progress of the Britons in his time. They had then entered so far into the ways of civilization as to have borrowed of him large sums of money, the repayment of which he is said to have enforced most oppressively. Thus, in our time, the independent Hottentots of Griqua-land in South Africa, whom Niebuhr overlooked in his low estimate of the capacity of the savage, have shown their progress by giving their bonds for money borrowed or merchandize bought, which bonds have been sold at Cape Town in the ordinary course of transfer of securities. In like manner,

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* Sat. xiv. iii.

† Epig. lib. xi. ep. 21.

‡ Mysi quam feri, quam truces fuerint, quam ipsorum etiam barbari barbarorum, horribile dictu est. Unus ducum, ante aciem postulato silentio, "*Qui vos*," inquit, "*estis?*" responsum invicem. "*Romani, gentium domini;*" et illi, "*Ita,*" inquiunt, "*fiet,* si nos viceritis."—Florus, lib. iv. c. 12.

§ Seneca de Morte Claudii.

the once savage negroes of Haiti—so lately slaves—are now coming among the capitalists of Europe for loans, upon terms as advantageous as are obtained for white people under the same circumstances.

VIII.

Fluctuation in the successes of the Romans in Britain; and their ignominious abandonment of the island.—The extinguishment of its civilization. 100 to 600 A.D.

The events of the first century of the Roman occupation of Britain furnish types and causes of all that followed, from the great military successes of the disciplined conquerors, and their extensive efforts to introduce civilization into the country, through internal and external wars of every description, to their ultimate abandonment of it, and to the reduction of its dispirited and unhappy people to a state of corruption and weakness far more evil than the degree of barbarism in which Julius Cæsar found them. Of those events even Agricola bore a leading part, although he was perhaps the very best of the Roman conquerors. He crowned his conquests in Britain with such extensive improvements of the people who survived, as amply proved their aptitude for civilization.

Yet Agricola, humane and enlightened as he was, for his time and his race, passed nine years in Britain in a series of unjustifiable slaughter. Having ruined numerous unoffending tribes, he was compelled to abandon the complete conquest of North Britain; and he was deterred from attempting the same career in Ireland, although invited thither by domestic treason,* which he was willing enough to use for the purpose of aggrandizing Rome.

* Mr. Moore has marked these designs with just severity. (History of Ireland, vol. i., p. 118.) In the early years of the occupation of

The general evil consequences of the Roman system in Britain.

The consequences of the Roman conquests were—extreme discontent in the South, never extinguished even by the strong wish of the Britons to adopt Roman civilization, and a succession of cruel wars in the North, never entirely suppressed even by Roman valour. The existence of so much evil has been doubted, and in the account taken between the miseries inflicted by the conquerors, and the benefits they conferred on Britain, the balance has been struck in favour of the Romans. But if the records of those wars are lost in the wreck of history, undeniable evidence of them, and of the hatred borne to the Romans by the natives which excited them, is presented in the gigantic defences raised by the labour of the enslaved, to protect their conquerors against the free tribes;—in the wide-spread insurrections in Roman Britain, so frequent during the conquest;—but above all, in the utter ruin ultimately brought upon Roman Britain by the unresisted and outraged barbarians of the North. The history of three centuries from the days of Agricola, is pregnant with matter to bear out in much detail the truth of this brief summary; and the collection of the scattered remnants of that history will be found the most valuable portion of this volume. With some exceptions, the most distinguished historians seem to have been dazzled by the splendour of the great victories of the Romans, so as to have been too much disposed to overlook the evil results of those victories.* The simple representation of the reality in such memorials of the truth as remain to us, may tend to correct this error; and it is thought that this original view of the three centuries during which the Romans were masters of Britain, will prove that a better course of policy was open to them;—a

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Algiers by France, there appeared in the "Moniteur Algerien," 17 Sept. 1832, a solemn declaration by the Government, that for success against the Arabs it relied upon the good *Roman* principle thus justified by the example of Agricola.

* Note H.

policy equally conducive to their own glory, and infinitely more favourable to the advancement of mankind at large.

It cannot be denied that the barbarians were often both aggressors upon the Romans; and more frequently, by internal dissensions, they gave occasion for the dangerous interference of the strong strangers in defence of the weaker tribes. But it is also unquestionable, that in ancient times motives prevailed for the free union of barbarous tribes and civilized nations with each other; *and Rome had, in such unions, a boundless field for the just display of her power.*

Roman convicts transported to Britain.

A peculiar evil to Roman Britain was its forced connection with the continental policy of the empire, so that its people were always liable to wars, either foreign to their feelings or adverse to their interests. The barbarous Britons were even exposed to the same monstrous abuse of power* —*the transportation* of criminals—by which we are at present extending the grossest corruptions among barbarians whom we might civilize. The Roman laws, too, pressed with peculiar hardship on the provinces, of which a single "iniquitous" instance, as Cicero termed it, will be a sufficient illustration.† It was not till the reign of Probus, in the third century, that the people of Spain, Britain, and Gaul were allowed to cultivate the grape;—a specimen of the way in which the monopolists of Rome sought to profit by their power over their subject provinces. Restraints such as this upon provincial industry have been revived in modern times. In the 17th century they greatly endangered the peace of New England; and in the last century, after having caused the war of 1749 with Spain, they laid the principal foundations of the loss of our American colonies. The spirit of such restraints, now operating in

The growth of the vine out of Italy prohibited until A. D. 280.

* Zosimus, lib. iv.; in the Extracts.

† Cic. de Repub. III. c. ix. Nos, justissimi homines, transalpinas gentes vitem serere non sinimus, quo pluris sint nostræ vineæ; quod cum faciamus, prudenter facere dicimur, juste non dicimur.

oppressive duties and in monopolies, disturbs every British settlement and possession abroad; and they especially impede the progress of the civilized negroes of Haiti, crushed by French avarice; as well as that of the free barbarians injuriously dealt with by us, from the Niger* to the Indus.

Little is known of Trajan's proceedings with regard to Britain, which province he seems never to have visited. Its disorders, and especially the troubles with the independent tribes in the north, the best of his successors had no better means of quieting than the still eloquent witnesses of their erroneous policy—*walls of non-intercourse*, and battle-fields full of mouldering bones and decayed weapons of war; proofs that a *few* good intentions are not enough to secure provincial prosperity.

Trajan's just Colonial principles.

Two, however, of the good principles which were acted upon by Trajan must have done much to make up for his vices as a great conqueror, and they deserve notice. The first is his rule in the appointment of provincial officers, "who, under him," says Pliny,† "were selected

* As to coffee of Africa, *in the immediate neighbourhood of our settlements*, being wasted, because our duties prevent its import, and our Government was not aware of its existence, *see* Letter of Mr. Stephen to the Treasury, House of Commons Paper, 1839, No. 528, p. 5. Yet our philanthropists and our merchants have known of it these 40 years. In Brazil the production of millions of pounds of coffee is of 70 years' standing only; and a creation of African labour, with *protected* European enterprise. Protect the African also, and the same result will come in Africa.

† The passage in Pliny's Panegyric respecting the appointments and promotions of provincial officers by Trajan is too long to be quoted. The practice lauded almost realizes the ancient principles of the Romans, as declared in the lines of Plautus:

> Virtute, dixit, vos victores vivere,
> Non ambitione, neque perfidia. qui minus
> Eadem histrioni sit lex, quo summo viro?
> Virtute ambire oportet, non favitoribus.
> Sat habet favitorum semper, qui recte facit,
> *Si illis fides est, quibus est ea res in manu.*
>
> Amphitr. Prologus, vers. 75–80.

These sentiments are embodied in a British statute, 12 Ric. 2, c. 11.

for their character, not by favour;" and they were honoured and promoted according as their conduct was efficient and good. No individual's acts were suppressed or slandered under Trajan; and his speedy attention to provincial appeals was as remarkable as the uniform equity of his judgments.* But it is to be feared, from the prominence given to these topics by Pliny in his Panegyric of Trajan, that the general practice of the Romans differed greatly from this emperor's.

Exaggerated descriptions of prosperity in Roman Britain.

Two periods have been selected by the ablest writer on Roman Britain, as periods of "comparative tranquillity and happiness;" namely, that of 70 years from the death of Severus,† and that of 50 years under Constantine and his sons;‡ and a third period has been declared by a higher authority§ as that in which the condition of the human race, not excepting Britain, was most prosperous; namely, that of 84 years, during the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that throughout the "happy" periods, making a moiety of the Roman conquest of Britain, as well as during

* The more important, because the more general, practice of Trajan, as to promptly and justly hearing colonial appeals and claims, is expressed in a very few golden words:—

"Videmus ut desideriis provinciarum, ut singularum etiam civitatum precibus occurras. Nulla in audiendo difficultas, nulla in respondendo mora. Adeunt statim, dimittuntur statim: tandemque principis fores exclusa legationum turba non obsidet. Non locupletando fisco sedes, nec aliud tibi sententiæ prætium, quam bene judicasse."—Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan.

Such a practice as this, and the famous despatches between Trajan and Pliny, furnish admirable models for our colonial administration; in which our own ancient principle of a *hearing* being due to all complainants to the crown, has been long disregarded, to the ruin of individuals, and the extreme injury of the public service.

† Dr. Lingard's History of England, vol. 1, p. 42, 4th ed., as to the period from 211 to 284, A. D.

‡ Ib. 49, as to the period from 306 to 360, A. D.

§ Gibbon, ch. iii., vol. 1, p. 134, ed. 1838, as to the period from 96 to 180, A. D.

the rest of the time admitted to be disastrous, war was the rule, peace only the exception, in the relations of the Romans with powerful unconquered tribes in the north of the Island, who were probably strengthened by the discontented conquered tribes. It is also plain that the resistance made by those unconquered northern tribes was justified not more by their own successes, than by the fiscal exactions, by the military levies, and by the unjust laws, which, working as fatally as the sword, at length reduced their dependent countrymen in the South to be an easy prey to new invaders.

Roman civilization in Britain extinguished.

The mere fact, that the Romans withdrew from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century after the first invasion, without leaving a single trace of their civilization, capable of effectually influencing the barbarism which so soon covered the land, and the completeness with which that civilization, as well as the degraded Britons themselves, were destroyed by the Saxons, prove the feebleness of the institutions set up by the Romans in Britain.*

Constantine's reforms shared by Britain.

Britain, however, shared the reforms made by Constantine the Great in the administration of the provinces; and the plan of them from the best sources will be found in the text. Constantine zealously repeated in an express law the noble sentiment of Trajan, in favour of the right of all to be fully heard upon appeals from the arbitrary acts of the officers of state. But their reform implies a previous state of abuse, which soon revived, and led to the impossibility of preserving Britain to the Roman empire.

A British mother is sometimes claimed for Constantine the Great, without the best historical evidence. A far more important point of view in which he is to be looked upon by us is, the spirit of equity, which he revived in the provincial administration. No greater contrast can be

* In the doubts how far the Latin language was adopted in Britain, Gibbon, ed. 1838, v. 1, p. 64, note * ; the testimony of Bede seems to have been overlooked, that in *his time*, the languages spoken in Britain were British, Saxon, and *Latin*.—Ecclesiastical History by Dr. Giles, p. 5.

found than that which is presented by his practice, and that of the two most powerful colonizing states of modern times—Holland and Great Britain. The decline of Holland may be traced directly to the corruptions and errors of its colonial administration; and reflection upon that contrast may help to direct the spirit of reform now fermenting in the British Isles, towards the correction of the parallel corruptions and errors of our colonial government.*

Britain lost to the classical world.

At length the very knowledge of the British Isles was lost to the civilized portion of the ancient world. A little

* Law of Constantine the Great: "If any one, high or low, shall complain of any public officer, let him come to me boldly; I will hear all men, and myself learn their grievances. If the complaint be proved, redress shall be granted. The injured shall be indemnified, and even rewarded for denouncing the wrong-doer. So may God judge me as I shall maintain his justice." Cod. Theod. c. ix. Tit. 1, iv., addressed: "*Ad universos Provinciales.*"

The practice of Holland in its decline is recorded by Tavernier and Raynal, in most remarkable terms; to the effect that justice could only be obtained in colonial cases by the power of patrons; and that the Dutch colonial ministers habitually delegated their duties to subordinate officers, who as habitually abused their illegal influence, and misled those by whom they were so unwisely trusted.

Our own practice is thus described by a writer of great experience, who holds a confidential post in the Colonial Office, and who declares in his preface, that his testimony is the fruit of what he has seen done, not of "inventive meditation." "The business of office," says this author, "may be reduced within a very manageable compass, without creating public scandal. By evading decisions wherever they can be evaded; by shifting them on other departments, or authorities, where, by any possibility, they can be shifted; by conciliating loud and energetic individuals at the expense of such public interests as are dumb, or do not attract attention; by sacrificing every where what is feeble and obscure to what is influential and cognizable; by such means and shifts as these, the Secretary of State may reduce his business within his powers, and perhaps obtain for himself the most valuable of all reputations in this line of life, that of a *safe* man; and if his business, even thus reduced, strains his power and his industry therein, whatever may be said of the theory, the *man* may be without reproach; without other reproach, at least, than that which belongs to men placing themselves in a way to have their *understandings abused and debased, their sense of justice corrupted, and their public spirit and appreciation of public objects undermined.*"—The Statesman, by Henry Taylor, Esq., author of Philip Van Artevelde, p. 152.

trade was probably still carried on between them; but the descriptions of the country, preserved in the last of the classics,* resemble the accounts belonging to the Phœnician ages. This return to darkness was concurrent with, and perhaps the cause of, the revival of ancient superstitions. The patriotic Druids having been cruelly persecuted by the Romans, Druidism was obstinately clung to by the Britons; and after struggling against Christianity, as well as against the Greek and Roman mythology, it long resumed its power.

Early Christianity in the British Isles.

Christianity is thought to have been early introduced into the British Isles; but it shared the reverses of the Romans, although its influence was carried even beyond the limits of the Roman empire, to Caledonia and to Ireland; whence it reached the remotest islands of the North under interesting circumstances. The faint traces of its progress to be found in the first centuries, are collected in a note from the Fathers, and other sources.

Illustrations of the classical accounts of the British Isles from Irish, Welch, Northern, and Oriental sources.

In other notes are collected a few passages from Irish, Welsh, Northern, and Oriental sources, to illustrate and verify the classical texts which form the body of the work.

Inscriptions, translations and notes.

The inscriptions concerning Britain, with translations of the texts, and sparing explanatory notes, complete the work; which it is hoped will be found to be an improvement upon the similar productions of Eichhorn and Petrie.†

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* Procopius, to whom is added Jornandes.

† So early as in the 16th century, the idea was conceived of collecting from classical writers the passages concerning Britain. The Earl of Worcester's little pamphlet of extracts from Cæsar, of 1530, is of this character. Eichhorn's work applies the same idea to the whole ancient world; but he limits his extracts, as to Britain, to Cæsar and Tacitus. Mr. Petrie's important work is an introduction to an arrangement of all the early known materials of British History; but his new arrangement of those materials is of doubtful advantage to the student; and the work is a small portion of an expensive collection.

The extracts in this volume stand according to the dates of their being written, with a few exceptions, displaced, for reasons stated in the respective notes.

IX.

The results of the Roman acquisition of territory in Britain without justice to the native Tribes, applied to modern British experience. Illustrations from the present crisis of affairs in South Africa.

Long before a career of conquests ended in the destruction of the empire, the Romans lost Britain, by not pursuing the just and conciliatory system, which would have given to civilization the effect naturally belonging to its attractions, in depriving the rudest tribes of motives for resisting* its influence. That system would have secured to the Roman people the fair degree of power which the civilized must ever exercise over barbarians, until culture has changed the relative condition of both parties. But the Romans indulged their ambition, and sacrificed to it myriads of barbarians, inflicting upon them not only some forms of oppression now obsolete, but others still in force among us.

A brief, general survey has been taken of our colonial and Indian possessions, to show that, much as we are advanced beyond the Romans in political morality, we still need, as they did, a *system* of humane policy to save us, as a great nation, from the deserved reproach of oppressing where we might protect, and of being the destroyers of those of whom we might be the benefactors and the teachers.

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* In the same series of despatches in which Governor Hutt (*see* p. xliii.) denounced, in 1839, our injustice in depriving the natives of Australia of their land, through our ignorance of their title to it, he states, in 1842, that "barbarism and civilization are treated by the aborigines as antagonist principles."—(House of Commons Papers, 1844, No. 627, p. 413.) Probably if the injustice as to their land were checked by suitable compensation being made to the Australians, *in a proper system* for their *improvement* and protection, the facts which he also adduces in favour of their appreciation of the advantages of civilization, would assume so substantial a form, as to demonstrate the possibility of their easily becoming one people with the white men, whose usages they now hate only when they are themselves dealt with unjustly.

We are great conquerors at the very moment that we profess to be opposed to the territorial extension of our empire; and whilst even the half-barbarous and heathen Romans—destructive of individual life as their campaigns were—spared all the races equally, we Christians, with just pretensions to high civilization, are fast destroying whole tribes of coloured men; for example, in Newfoundland and other parts of America, and in Van Diemen's Land, and in most parts of the Australias. So, with strange inconsistency, we are inflicting great evils upon Africa in the south, when in other quarters we are making great sacrifices for the good of her people.

A single case taken from the recent history of South Africa will explain the full extent of misery we now cause, and the amount of good we throw away, by permitting ignorance to prevail respecting important facts, and by neglecting measures well calculated to abate what is evil, and to increase what is good. The same case will also explain the system capable of meeting the difficulties of Africa, and show how, with proper modifications, those of other countries, on this head, may be removed.

Relief refused by British Statesmen to African tribes in misfortune, 1823 to 1845.

This single case is an example of that phase of barbarous life which Mr. Gibbon, as shown above, stated to be out of the experience of modern statesmen. It is an example of literally *starving* myriads escaping from the savage tyrannies of the interior, but who found a scarcely more humane reception from the great nation which refused to share its civilization with such miserable refugees, although good treatment has clearly shown them fit for religious culture and improvement. The case is that of a South African tribe, called *Mantatees*; whose attack upon the natives a few miles to the north of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, about twenty years ago, was checked by the civilized Hottentots, called Griquas. The record of the facts alluded to was early published in England by

an eye-witness,* whose testimony has been recently confirmed by another eye-witness, both being still living.

"A native taken prisoner by the Mantatees," says the first narrator of the events, Mr. Thompson, "had made his escape. He reported their intention to be to plunder Lithako and Kuruman, and then proceed towards Griqua-land. He had told them that they would meet with a powerful white people who would destroy them. To this they replied, that the white people were their fathers, and would do them no injury, but provide them with food." "If the Griquas were defeated," he says, "this horde of devastators might possibly create infinite alarm, and do much mischief, before they were driven back, unless some precautionary measures were adopted." He traces the movement of the Mantatees to the wars of Chaca, chief of the Zoolas, near Natal. "By plundering and driving out the adjoining natives, Chaca forced them to become plunderers in their turn, and to carry terror and devastation through the remotest quarters of Southern Africa. The people so dispossessed by Chaca became the marauding and cannibal Mantatees. In their migration they were accompanied by their wives and children; a great proportion of this miserable horde, especially the women and the aged, being generally in a state of famine. They were cannibals through hunger alone. After their repulse at Lithako, one division of them formed an amicable junction with the Morootzee tribe, and were located in their territories. The other division attacked new tribes, in consequence of which thousands of people were reduced to extreme misery, and began to flock into the colony of the Cape to solicit protection and sustenance. At the most moderate calculation, it is believed that not fewer than 100,000 people in the interior have perished by war and famine, in consequence of the dispossession and subsequent devastations of the Mantatees."

"For more than a year," says the second witness,† "numerous and strange reports had reached us of a desolating invasion. On an expedition to open a friendly intercourse with a distant tribe to prevent hostilities, we suddenly met the invaders, the Mantatees, at Lithako. The first of them spoken to was a young woman in the most extreme want. We sent her to tell her people of our wish to speak to them, and not fight. We saw others dead and dying from hunger. On looking around in search of water, we saw the dead bodies, reduced to skeletons, of several of the enemy who had come to drink, and expired at the pool." After great efforts to bring the invaders to terms of peace, they were defeated, by the superior arms of the Griquas. "They were suffering dreadfully from want; even in the heat of battle, the poorer class seized pieces of meat, and devoured them raw." . . . .

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* Mr. Thompson, author of *Travels in Southern Africa*, from which the extract in the text is taken, 2d edit., 1827, vol. 1, p. 191.

† The Rev. Robert Moffat, from whose *Missionary Labours* and *Scenes in Southern Africa*, published in 1842, p. 340-372, the extract in the text is taken.

"Some were found feasting on the dead bodies of their companions." . . . . "One circumstance shows what human beings are in certain situations. A dead horse was found killed by the bite of a serpent, and swollen, and half putrid. This horse the women tore limb from limb, and ate the whole. To the friendly warning not to eat the part bitten by the serpent, they paid no attention. When people, like these, have fasted for a year, they require quantities of food quite incredible." . . . . "These Mantatees had been driven from their original homes by the destructive inroads of the Zoolas and other tribes. Like many other pastoral people, when robbed of their cattle, they have nothing left; and thus must either perish or rob others." . . . . . "Oppression and hunger make a wise man mad in any country; and when we follow the Mantatees in their long campaign of bloodshed, we cease to wonder that habit rendered them fierce and fearless as the beasts of prey among which they roamed. *It is a deeply interesting fact, that a missionary is now labouring with success among them, conquering them with far other weapons than those found necessary to arrest their devastating career at Old Lithako.*"

This favourable testimony to the real character and capacity of the once barbarous Mantatees, comes from one who is unconnected with the missionaries now engaged in civilizing them. Those successful missionaries belong to the Wesleyan Society; and since the publication of Mr. Moffat's book in 1842, they have greatly extended their stations among this people.

The immediate check opposed to them at Lithako, sanguinary as it was, could not be prevented by the civilized Griquas and their friends engaged in the conflict. But attention on our part to the sources of those migrations, and a wise intervention in the movements out of which they sprang, would probably have averted such dangers, and certainly have enabled us to meet them with discrimination. So far from attention being given to the melancholy confusions of the interior of South Africa during so many years, the best governors there have been embarrassed by their own ignorance of facts, and, through a false system of policy, they have been powerless, except for the most part to aggravate evil. Five years after the Mantatees were thus repulsed by eighty Griquas, and after these Mantatees had found a friendly reception among other African barbarians, a body of British troops, 1,200 in number, infantry, cavalry, and even artillery, attacked another

The attack on the Maceesas in 1828.

tribe of wanderers in their huts, and inflicted upon them a fearful slaughter, without distinction of age or sex.*

Early loss of opportunities to prevent the migration of African tribes, and to civilize them.

An earlier date is to be given to the errors which have deprived the Government in South Africa of the means to prevent those terrible migrations, and of civilizing the tribes, whose forced wanderings inflicted such calamities on their fellow tribes, and long disturbed the Cape frontiers; and inasmuch as no signs are yet to be perceived of measures for correcting such errors.

The origin of the destruction of the tribes in the interior.

Those forced wanderings arose mainly from the conquests of Chaca and the Zoolas bordering on Natal, which began in about 1817, and might have been prevented. The Natal coast having then been long abandoned, after being much frequented by Europeans, and even after being once purchased, although not settled by the Dutch, was lost even to geographers, as much as Britain was lost to the ancient world at Cæsar's invasion. Its latest memorials were, however, to be found in Dutch books; so that Dr. Vander Kemp, a Hollander, and a missionary of as much learning and ability as zeal, was well aware of the nature of the country and of the capabilities of the tribes.

Dr. Vander Kemp's missions in the interior of South Africa prohibited.

With this knowledge, he wisely proposed to form a chain of religious stations from the Cape Eastern frontiers into the interior. Those missions, towards the Portuguese possessions, would have removed ignorance on our part; and *if aided with wise activity by the Government*, they would have substituted civilization and peace among the remote tribes, for those desolating wars which have made a desert of flourishing towns, and spread carnage in all quarters.†

* It is right to state, that respectable persons have held, that this terrible slaughter saved the border tribes and Cape colony from a sanguinary invasion. *A wise system would have averted that danger, as well as the slaughter of the unknown tribes.*

† Mr. Moffat, p. 434, speaking of the year 1825, says, "The interior tribes were, according to the most authentic information, all in commotion, deluging the country with blood, appearing to depend for their support on the destruction of others. The powerful and hitherto

Rise and troubles of the Griquas.

Pending these events, in which the more barbarous tribes have been the great sufferers, and in consequence of our disregard of them, scenes of equal horror have passed among perhaps the most interesting people of Africa, the Griquas, a body of Hottentots, who for forty years have been in a state of transition from an extremely degraded barbarism and persecution to independence, civilization, respectability and hope. The struggles of an excellent party among the

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invincible Bauangketsi were dispersed by a combined force, and Makaba had been slain in the midst of heaps of warriors. In the south-east the Batau and Legoyas were carrying on the same destructive game. The Wesleyan mission at Makuase was also broken up, and the missionaries retired to the colony."—And afterwards, in 1829, he visited some of the scenes of this desolation, which he thus describes:—"On the sides of the hills and Kashan mountains were towns in ruins, where thousands once made the country alive, amidst fruitful vales, now covered with luxuriant grass, inhabited by game. The extirpating invasions of the Mantatees and Matabele had left to beasts of prey the undisputed right of these lovely woodland glens."—(Ib. p. 518.) "Along the bases of little hills lay ruins of many towns, some of which were of amazing extent. . . . The ruins of many towns showed signs of immense labour and perseverance; stone fences, averaging from four to seven feet high, raised apparently without mortar, hammer, or line Everything was circular, from the inner walls which surrounded each dwelling or family residence, to those which encircled a town. In traversing these ruins, I found the remains of some houses which had escaped the flames of the marauders. These were large, and displayed a far superior style to anything I had witnessed among the other aboriginal tribes of Southern Africa. The circular walls were generally composed of hard clay, with a small mixture of cow-dung, so well plastered and polished, a refined portion of the former mixed with a kind of ore, that the interior of the house had the appearance of being varnished. The walls and doorways were also neatly ornamented with a kind of architraves and cornices."—(pp. 523, 524.)—One of the natives had witnessed the destruction; and "these nations he described as being once numerous as the locusts, rich in cattle, and traffickers, to a great extent, with the distant tribes of the north." "My informant," adds Mr. M., "with his fellow Bakones, had witnessed the desolation of many of the towns around us—the sweeping away the cattle and valuables—the butchering of the inhabitants, and their being enveloped in smoke and flames. Commandos of Chaka, the once bloody monarch of the Zoolas, had made frightful havoc; but all these were nothing to the final overthrow of the Bakone tribes by the arms of Moselekatse."—(p. 526.)

Griquas, who, with the steady support of the London Missionary Society, have successfully resisted the fearful obstacles in their way towards civilization, ought to have excited the liveliest sympathy on the part of the British Government. On the contrary, when we did not positively impede the operations of the better party, our neglects for years promoted the frightful anarchy which ill-disposed men caused, and which did not fail to produce its natural fruits—dissension and bloodshed.* Great improvements have taken place among these people, which our late treaties with them have strengthened; but a due consideration of their present great peril demands a far more active intervention in their affairs.

The Natal settlement of 1824.

Whilst, also, these things were happening in the interior, a few adventurous individuals had formed a settlement at Port Natal, on the Eastern Ocean, the prudent support of which must have tended to prevent such calamities; but every argument that could be addressed to the Government in its favour during eighteen years was urged in vain. In 1842, after eighteen years' resistance, Natal was adopted as British; upon what system, and with what energy, is now the subject of anxious expectation.

A new element of good or of evil in South Africa, 1836.

The lamentable consequences of the barbarians' movements *from* the interior, arose from our inattention to the state of its tribes prior to their intimate communication with civilized society. The troubles of the *Griquas* were attributable to our want of sympathy for barbarians struggling to become civilized, and intimately connected with us. Extreme difficulties of a very different kind, from another source, are at this moment increasing the calamities of South Africa, where nature has offered boundless riches of soil and climate to promote human happiness, and peculiar advantages towards advancing African civilization

* Moffat's Missionary Labours and Scenes, p. 433.

at large, if we had wisdom to correct a few great errors in the administration of South African affairs.

The migration of Cape colonists to the interior of South Africa and Natal.

It was in 1836 and 1837 that these new elements of immense influence for good, or for further evil, according as the Government may act regarding them, appeared in the interior of South Africa. Those elements—consisting of the migrations of 10,000 British subjects from the Cape colony, with hundreds of thousands of sheep and oxen and horses, and well armed, after several years of extreme disaster, and after offering, in 1842, an opportunity of peace, are again, in 1845, in a state of the most critical ferment.

The circumstances of those migrations of 1836 and 1837 are as remarkable as their results have hitherto been melancholy.

For more than a century past, under the Dutch authority as well as under ours, the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope had habitually spread into the interior, in defiance of stringent laws prohibiting intrusion on the natives; and as habitually both governments had strongly denounced such migrations; but as uniformly both had adopted the districts thus illegally occupied, after neglecting all means of enforcing the prohibitory laws. In successive years, the boundaries of the colony had been extended in this way, without regard to the colonial code, or to the claims of natural justice, where native tribes were in possession of the country, and no decisive measures were taken by either government to render the progress of the white settlements beneficial to the natives.

Abandonment of a conquest.

In 1835, for the first time in British history, a great acquisition of colonial territory was restored, by orders from England, to the natives. But the circumstances of the case were distinguishable from former ones in the fact of the extension of the colony, thus reduced, having been the act of the local government after a conquest,

not that of intruding colonists. It was the case of Cafferland.

Improved policy, not properly qualified.

This change of policy, as to *seizing* the lands of the natives, with other causes, led to the migration of many thousands of the Cape colonists in 1836 and 1837. In resolving for the first time to be just in the direction of Cafferland, it was forgotten that the circumstances of the tribes beyond our frontiers in other quarters differed essentially from the circumstances of the frontier Caffers, or Amakosæ. It was the regulation of our migrations, not their prohibition, that was needed in those other quarters, where the friendly settlement of the whites may be rendered not only acceptable, but a real blessing to the native people, or where the country is literally a vast unoccupied wilderness. Of one portion of that wilderness, an important witness connected with the Wesleyan Missionaries, who had the most frequented it, says, "Here is a fine country, 200 miles in length and 70 in breadth, which is almost entirely uninhabited. Near the colonial frontier, a few of Mapassa's Tambookis occupy a small portion of it, but even in this spot, such is the paucity of population, that the natives' villages are 10 miles apart. This country abounds in water, and good land both for cultivation and grazing, *but it is too cold for natives,* and never has been permanently settled by them. Between the Stormberg range and Stockenstrom's river, there is a tract about 150 miles long and 40 broad. Its western boundary, near the colony, is the Stormberg river. This tract is also unoccupied, except here and there a few Bechuana villages."* More than 30 years ago, an able officer, sent by the Cape Government to explore this quarter, Colonel Collins, was transported with admiration at the beauty of its "golden

Vast healthy and fertile tracts of South Africa uninhabited.

* Notes on South African Affairs. By W. B. Boyce, Wesleyan Missionary. London, 1839, p. 170.

plains."* It was not in the nature of things that such a country, with extensive fertile districts thinly peopled, should continue to be closed against the enterprise and the wants of white men. Accordingly, whilst exact knowledge of the resources and state of the interior was spreading, the increase of the flocks and families of the colonists, during a succession of unusually dry seasons, within the frontiers, rendered the superior pastures beyond them irresistibly attractive. Wise measures might and ought to have been taken to settle the white colonists upon those lands justly and safely to all. On the contrary, the movement of the colonists in 1836 and 1837, which a consistent Government would have attempted to stop, and a wise Government have guided, was witnessed by the authorities of the colony, without resistance, if not with sympathy; and during several years the home Government suffered the emigrants to exercise the highest functions of authority—the powers of war and peace—without serious rebuke, although torrents of blood were shed by them in their progress into the interior. These emigrants spreading, and now settled from the Orange River to Natal, early lost more than 600 of their own people, and put to death 12,000 blacks; and at length they fought pitched battles with the Queen's troops. In 1842, a commissioner from the Cape of Good Hope made terms of reconciliation with them; the main conditions being, that Natal should be a British settlement, and the emigrants have a regular government from Her Majesty. In 1843, the settlement of a civil Government at Natal was delayed on the ground of "*the want of information.*"† In the beginning of the present year, the

Delay in forming a Government at Natal, "for want of information."

* Cape Records, 1840, 4to., p. 39.

† Despatch laid before the Council, Cape Town, May 1843. Whilst the Secretary of State for the Colonies was thus deferring measures of the extremest importance for want of information, the means of the

promise to send them such an administration was not performed; and consequently the last intelligence from the spot is fraught with grounds of alarm. Anarchy and the greatest apprehension of further violences prevail along a line of 800 miles between our civilized colony and a region of Africa teeming with tribes. The emigrants complain, that the pledged faith of the British Crown is broken; all of them are in the highest degree discontented, and many are preparing for a fresh migration to the unhealthy latitudes north of Delagoa Bay.

The gravity of the case cannot be better described than in the local reports of their popular council's last act against *the natives;* and more interesting or more distressing incidents never occurred in African history than those which are presented in the documents inserted in the notes to this volume (K.) Those documents disclose the extreme danger of fresh violences between the emigrants and the natives, and which are now stayed only by the prudence and firmness of a military officer. Those documents also exhibit the anxiety of the natives for the enjoyment of the blessings of civilized life, and the disposition of the emigrants to live in harmony with them, upon proper terms, provided the government will be active and just. Finally, those documents expose the delay of the government in carrying out its engagements, and in securing peace by good laws, fair treaties, and a considerate administration.

The evil consequences of the apathy of the home Government on these important affairs, are felt by all who have good opportunities of forming correct opinions, as will be seen in the following observations published at the Cape of Good Hope on the subject:

The rights of the natives (it is there most truly said) will be more openly in-

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amplest information were at his command, within his office, and in the possession of private individuals, anxious to give the results of their experience to the Government.

vaded; the influence of the British name and character will be sensibly weakened; and the difficulty of bringing these lawless communities of British subjects under the necessary and wholesome dominion of order and law, will be immeasurably increased. The delay that has taken place on the settlement of public affairs at Natal, and *in the pacification of the country to the north-east*, involves great responsibility somewhere.*

Many others of the emigrants are settled in the *north-eastern* interior, where "pacification," as said in the foregoing extract, is so much needed. How urgent the need is, will appear from a most remarkable document, also given in the note, from an African chief, whom the missionaries have elevated in civilization, but whom we leave, as we so long left the Griquas, to struggle with difficulties now threatening to make this region again a scene of unmitigated horrors. The missionaries who have raised this chief, Moshesh, to a civilized condition, belong to a French Protestant society; and their great success was recognized long ago by the most impartial witnesses.

The opinion of Sir Andries Stockenstrom in 1834, and of the Rev. Dr. Philip in 1836, on the settlement of white people in the interior of South Africa.

The dangers to be apprehended from a perseverance in an unwise policy respecting this part of Africa, were earnestly and eloquently explained to the Government and Parliament long ago, by men of the highest authority and great experience. In 1834 Sir Andries Stockenstrom† made such a statement to the Secretary of State, with full details;—the Rev. Dr. Philip‡ repeated it to a Committee of the House of Commons;—and in 1836 the enormous misery of the tribes in this interior was fully disclosed by a scientific expedition§ unconnected either with

* Cape Frontier Times, Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope, 23 January 1845.

† H. of C. Papers, 1836, No. 0.22, p. 117.

‡ Ib., 1836, No. 0.22, p. 631.

§ "The expedition has made us aware of the existence of an infinity of misery in the interior; a circumstance which, in all probability, will lead eventually to the benefit of thousands, *who, without such an opportunity of making known their sufferings, might have lived and died even without commiseration.*"—Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa, under Dr. Andrew Smith, Cape Town, 1836, p. 35.

the Government or the missionaries; but all their warnings were disregarded.* The Government had then to learn that barbarians may be civilized by good systems of administration and law;—the Committee was then labouring in support of its fatal errors, that missionaries alone, without the reform of administration and the laws, can civilize them; and that it is impossible to establish a just system of colonization;—and science on this occasion failed to enlighten. It is with no design to undervalue the usefulness of religious missions, that their inability to meet the complex political difficulties of barbarians, in the *inevitable* collision with actively spreading, civilized men, is insisted on.

The religious Missions in the interior of South Africa.

For more than twenty years before the conflict at Lithako, the religious missionaries of the London society had pursued a career of eminent usefulness along and beyond the Orange River. After that conflict, the same society, with other religious missionaries,† supplied many parts of this region with flourishing stations, which are centres of order and improvement and every good. But it has been one of the grand errors of the time, advocated too zealously by the British philanthropists, that here, as well as elsewhere, any missionaries, however excellent, can meet the political difficulties opposed to their success; and the friends of religious missions could at this moment do no one act of greater importance for the advancement of their cause in Africa, and especially in South Africa, than to take into grave consideration the resolution of a Committee of Parliament, in which this error assumed a specific form,‡ so as greatly to delay the correction of the system of government. Such an act

* The late Baron Hogendorp, a Hollander of distinguished character and respectable attainments, addressed a similar warning to the Dutch Government; whose neglect of it contributed to the ruin of the Dutch Colonies before the conquest of the Cape by us.

† Wesleyans, the Church of England, the Baptists, French Protestants, American Protestants, and German Protestants.

‡ Page xxx. of this Introduction, note *.

would make religious missionaries prosper in the highest possible degree, by relieving them of political occupations now unavoidable, and secure to the aborigines the enjoyment of political rights, which the best of missionaries are incapable of properly defending.

Recent evidence, 1844, 1845.

How unequal those best of missionaries are to the task, is abundantly proved by this case, which will be appropriately closed with the striking testimony borne to the alarming condition of the interior of South Africa, by an Indian officer *now travelling* there. His journal, already published on the spot, and under the eye of the colonial authorities and colonial public, contains the following statement: "The emigrant Boers, after destroying the powerful people of Moselekatze, in lat. 25° S., and long. 27° E., are rooting out their remains. In doing this, they perpetrate atrocious and indiscriminating violences. On a late occasion, they fell upon an unsuspecting village, where they killed 50 men, and took 200 children. The mother of one of those little ones, in a paroxysm of despair, destroyed herself, upon being unable to rescue the child. The Bushmen of the interior are hunted down by the Boers, and their children reduced to bondage, as in times past. In this way, the emigrants are spreading uncontrolled, and seizing upon every fountain and fertile spot for farms, from the borders of the colony to Natal, and little short of the tropic."—This Indian traveller further reports, in unqualified language, the intention of the emigrants in the interior to be, to let no Englishman, nor missionary, nor black, remain north of the Orange river. If so outrageous a state of feeling really prevail, his conclusion cannot be too strongly pressed, that unless OUR GOVERNMENT TAKE IMMEDIATE AND ENERGETIC MEASURES TO AFFORD PROTECTION TO THE NATIVE TRIBES, THEY WILL ERE LONG BE ANNIHILATED.*

* The South African Commercial Advertiser, 26 February 1845.

Thus our tardy settlement of Natal is become a part only of the work of administration wanted for the South African interior; and happily the Kafir treaties supply a clear guide to the arrangements now indispensable for its peace.*

No information laid before Parliament on South Africa since 1837.

The perseverance in errors, with these deplorable results, can only be accounted for by considering the manner in which the facts are kept from the knowledge of Parliament. For seven years,—whilst events of great importance, such as those which have followed the Cape migrations—the mutual slaughter of so many thousands of human beings, many hundreds of them British subjects, but the most part belonging to that race for the sake of which Great Britain has expended millions upon millions of money, and for whose good the whole nation gives freely its undivided sympathies;—during all this time not a line of information on the subject is laid before Parliament.† This occurs, too, when upon a portion of the

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* In 1836, political agencies were formed under the Kafir treaties. Such agencies existed before, both in Cafraria and the interior; and the Commissioners of Inquiry of 1823–27 strongly recommended their extension to the north. The amended Kafir treaties, dated 2d and 30th January 1845, provide for such agents in Cafraria, near the residence of some of the principal chiefs, to act in a diplomatic capacity; to investigate cases of stealing from the colony, and the like; and to settle the amount of indemnities to be paid in such cases, subject to an appeal to a British Circuit Court, to be held either within the colony, *or in Cafraria itself, under the joint authority of the chiefs and of the Governor of the colony.*

† The notices of Natal in the Reports of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, cannot be called exceptions to this remark. These reports establish the extreme difficulty the Government has to form correct views if the information at its command is kept secret. After the Commissioners had for successive years joined in the resistance to a colony being founded at Natal, they now support the novel measure of the colony being left *without any civil government*, and a Governor 1,200 miles off. They also approve of the natives, "from 80,000 to 100,000 in number," who are seeking refuge in Natal "*from the barbarities of their native chiefs*," furnishing emigrant labourers for the Cape of Good Hope.

These two most important conclusions, first, in favour of a colony without a local, civil government, which can be approved by no party, and secondly, in

Cape frontier, towards Caffer land, a new system of great importance—*the system of treaties*, and of political agencies, occasioning the warmest interest among both the white and black people—is in operation; and those treaties now of seven years' standing, and the proceedings of the agents, are equally unknown to parliament.

Hence arises in all quarters a degree of ignorance, which fully accounts for our errors; and the events which have happened, prove incontestably that the first step for their removal is the correction of the official practice which permits that ignorance.

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favour of what many will call the renewal of slave trading, are produced to Parliament in two pages in 1845 (Land and Emigration Commissioners' Report, pp. 23, 24), supported by a single document, the Proclamation of the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 12 May 1843 (*ib.* p. 53.)

Instead of such meagre official statements, the whole case of South Africa demands earnest and full investigation in all its bearings. Above all, it is eminently interesting as an example of those great migrations of men which arise from the often disturbed condition of barbarous people; for the parallel between Roman policy and our own in those cases has a melancholy completeness, little as the lesson expatiated upon by Gibbon ought to have been lost. Incredible as it will appear, it is nevertheless true that the very same thing is doing in 1845 by British statesmen towards barbarous refugees, which the historian signalizes as the disgrace of a Roman administration, when persecuted barbarians sought shelter within the limits of the empire. On that occasion the provincial authorities were busy in selecting *labourers* from among those persecuted barbarians, *to the neglect of measures* of public utility; as our authorities prefer supplying labourers to the colonists from among the African refugees to establishing good government for their protection and improvement.

Completeness of the parallel between Roman and British policy towards refugee barbarians.

The Roman Case. A. D. 365.	The British Case. A. D. 1845.
The emperor Valens allowed the Scythians to be received within the limits of the empire; but the authorities on the frontiers "*sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houses with slaves,*" as Mr. Gibbon translates* the original passage in Zosimus.†	At Natal, in South Africa, there has been an influx of Zoolahs to the number of 80,000 to 100,000, driven from their own country by the barbarities of the native chiefs. The emigration of some of them for servants at the Cape of Good Hope, has been proposed, and sanctioned.‡

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* Chap. xxvi., vol. 4, p. 367.

† Lib. iv., p. 225.

‡ Fifth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1845, p. 24.

With knowledge of facts provided, a new system of policy may be hoped for, to secure harmony wherever at present discord prevails, and to bring together in peace the various races of men, whom no earthly power can keep asunder.

The great importance of a good system on this head can be doubted by none who consider how utterly impossible it is to stop the extension* of our Colonial and Indian Empire; how great is the value of our commerce† with it; how numerous the barbarous people‡ are with whom

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* Exclusive of India, the population of 41 colonies, as returned to Parliament in the present Session, is 4,674,335.—House of Commons Papers, 1845, No. 49, p. 2. Of these 2,000,000 must be whites.

† Ib. p. 3. Imports from the Colonies into the United Kingdom, 10,495,019*l.* Exports from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, 17,318,670*l.*

‡ No attempt has ever been made to form even a conjecture as to their number. They belong to every degree of barbarism—to all religions—and to every clime.

In India and China we have 100,000,000 of coloured fellow-subjects, and 50,000 whites of all classes, military as well as civil, with a net revenue of 18,000,000*l.* to administer. In Haiti, and elsewhere we have 105 Consulates, and a numerous and rich mercantile population of British subjects, intimately connected with many millions of coloured people (more or less uncivilized).

Our whalers and other shipping unceasingly visit every sea, but for want of good moral and physical government, they are still not less open to reproach as corruptors of nations, and especially of barbarous nations, than the maritime pursuits of the ancients were. (Cic. de Repub. ii. 4.)

At the same time our missionaries of all denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, are fast covering the world, although at a rate that is altogether inadequate to the ends they have in view; whilst our men of science traverse the whole world as unceasingly.

All these things constitute means and motives of British extension in the less civilized parts of the earth perfectly irresistible, so long as we are prosperous; and it is clearly indispensable to lasting and just prosperity in these relations, that a wise system of treaties and other legal measures be formed by the State. Unfortunately in 1837 the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons was misled on this capital point, and recommended that such *treaties* should *not* be made, (House of Commons Papers, 1837, No. 425, p. 8, Resolution 8), to the

it is closely connected; and how deeply it affects our relations with the great civilized powers of the world.*

If our vast possessions beyond sea, and our numerous relations with the civilized and uncivilized races of mankind, give a boundless importance to the policy we may pursue, the difficulty of shaping that policy wisely is lessened by the great advantages we possess towards promoting peace and general civilization.

Facilities in modern times for promoting the civilization of barbarians.

We have means of *knowledge*, such as never existed before. Among the ancients, the Greeks knew nothing of the commercial progress of the Phœnicians, and the Romans were excluded by the Carthaginians from the least acquaintance with their intercourse with such countries as Britain. The Greeks and Romans, again, knew little of each other's affairs down to a late period. So in after

Modern means of perfect knowledge of remote countries.

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extreme surprise of the philanthropists (edition of the Report by the Aborigines Protection Society, 8vo, p. 122.)

In the present year a new view has been taken of the principle of British colonization, and Sir Robert Peel, in laying before Parliament the Estimates for money wanted for the general service of the year, took an enlightened survey of our colonies, "which have increased from 22 in 1792 to 45 in 1843." To the common objection that such extension of our colonial empire is unwise, the Minister declared, without a rebuke from any quarter, that he "should be unwilling, although the number be large and the policy has been expensive, to condemn the policy which has led to the foundation in different parts of the globe of dependencies inhabited by men animated with the spirit of Englishmen, speaking the English language, and laying the foundation perhaps in future times of free and populous commercial communities. If," said Sir Robert Peel, on this memorable occasion, "I look to our own population, if I look to our numbers, or if I look to our *enterprise*, *I cannot say that it has been an unwise policy to provide outlets for those numbers and for that enterprise, although it may have been*, and is, attended with something of an increased expenditure."

Such a declaration, received with warm applause, cannot rest there. It settles the question so much debated, as to the extension of our colonies; but it remains now to accompany that extension with a suitable provision of means to render it humane.

* The Tahiti and Oregon questions alone prove the importance of the subject in this point of view.

times, the great eastern conquerors, to whose rapacity millions of human beings were sacrificed, and by whose aim at universal empire Christian Europe was terrified and endangered, were totally ignorant of the power and proceedings of the nations of the West. And to very recent times Spain, and even Holland, sought security to their colonies and trade by throwing over them a veil of secrecy, of which not the least mischievous natural result was, that their own ignorance of the true value of their possessions surpassed that of their more enterprising neighbours.

Means of information neglected.

The newspapers and magazines now printed in the remotest lands,* and the local *almanacks* alone, with the official despatches and logs of ships, would furnish analyses of intelligence calculated to present to the statesman and the public the clearest view of the affairs of those countries; so that the danger and evil that have befallen us in the last two years, for *want of information* alone, shall never be encountered again. But the same end will be exceedingly promoted by the proper use being made of improvements in our maps, and of models, as well as of museums; in all of which our science is superior to that of the ancients, however much it is neglected. The walls of suitable rooms in the new Houses of Parliament, and public places in every chief town in the three kingdoms, in the colonies, and in India, ought to be covered, as the palace of the Doges of Venice was, with maps of all regions, upon the scale of the Ordnance survey.

Modern means of political intercourse with barbarians. Political agencies of proved utility.

The system of political agencies is a new aid in extending peaceful influence among our barbarous neighbours; and the proof of its great utility, exhibited in the eastern portion of the Cape of Good Hope, during the last eight years, ought to lead to the immediate establishment

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* *E. g.* in the South Sea Islands, in Canton, and at Natal in South Africa.

of those agencies throughout South Africa, and in all countries under similar circumstances. Along with good treaties, and the multiplication of religious and medical missions, and protectorates, those agencies would help to carry civilization with extraordinary speed, where now all is anarchy, barbarism, and bloodshed.

Modern means of rapid communication.

Quick communication by steam is a new element of peace, which alone must exceedingly promote the correction of errors and false policy.

Free and equal annexation of new states.

The union of remote nations, which Rome rejected, is another new means of extending our influence with advantage. There was great truth in the remark of Mr. Hastings, that many native princes of India would gladly form friendly unions with England, and so become "viziers," and subjects of the British sovereign. If his proposal* to begin a system of such unions had been adopted, and if it had been accompanied by Mr. Hastings' wise and equally neglected plan of interior discovery and trade,† both together must have formed a far wiser course for the just extension of our possessions and influence, than the system raised upon the treaty of Bassein, afterwards so elaborately worked out, which has covered India with numerous subsidiary alliances, open to the suspicion of being, on our part, the mere means of aggression upon the rights, and, in many respects, injurious to the interests, of the native states. It seems probable that by free unions all the admitted advantages of this system of subsidies and conquests to the *people* of India might have been secured without any of their evils. The good design was rejected, as we have seen the most important offer of South Sea Islanders to be united to Great Britain rejected.‡ The sole

* Life of the Right Honourable Warren Hastings, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, vol. II., p. 137.

† Ib., vol. II., p. 76.

‡ House of Commons Papers, 1843, No. [473].

condition to be imposed upon relations of this character is, that the object of such unions be the mutual good of both parties, and that they be never secured by fraud or force.

Colonial and Indian representation in Parliament.

The crowning measure for turning all the rest to a good account, will be to bring colonial and Indian members into Parliament. Some difficulties in detail stand in the way of this great measure; but they may be removed or borne, and permit the knitting together of the British empire into one harmonious whole.

The completion of what exists will form a system, and a new science.

In every British possession abroad, and in many quarters at home, much exists that only requires proper extension, to be turned to a complete system, through which that vast empire may become the protector and guide of millions of uncivilized men, now carrying on a perpetual conflict with us, to our great loss and their ruin.

The details of such a complete system, (*with its various peculiarities, according to the particular circumstances of each country* and people in turn), would be far too voluminous for this place. It would consist in the declaration of principles, the enactment of laws, and in measures and institutions calculated to meet *every material circumstance in all our relations with barbarous states and tribes*, and its development would be the triumph of a most important branch of political science—or rather of what may properly be termed *a new political science*.*

To civilize barbarians is the object of a new science.

* Several years ago the author of this volume hazarded the proposition, that the relations of civilized with uncivilized people, form the foundation of a branch of the science of Government, which might justly be termed a *new science*, because little attended to by statesmen, or by the public at large. The following passages of the small work in which that proposition was advanced, will not be improperly cited to support the views urged in the text.

"To comprehend the causes of the decay of the coloured races thoroughly, and by their means to devise correctives of the system which has done such enormous evil, it will be indispensable to trace the long and melancholy story of Christian domination over these coloured races, through its sanguinary course of three centuries, and

The application of this science in the actual conduct of affairs is wanted at present more than it ever was in times

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in its many varied shapes. Gloomy as this retrospect will be, bright spots are not wanting to cheer the inquirer. In the excellent conduct of many individuals of all periods of time, he will find abundant reason to be convinced, that the past, with its horrors, is far from being the model on which the future is necessarily to be framed. It is the abuse of our relations with the uncivilized man, not the essential character of those relations themselves, to which his misery is attributable. The corruptions of *some* Christians, not the true doctrines of their pure religion, have made him a victim. The short-sighted cupidity of *some* traders, not the real character of enlightened commerce, has stripped him of his national resources, by unfair dealing, even when gross frauds have not outraged him. The selfishness of *some* settlers, not the unavoidable tendency of Christian colonization, has exposed him hitherto, with comparatively rare exceptions, to the most unsparing oppression."

The true character of barbarians.

"The character of uncivilized races has often been mistaken. The only true estimate of it is, that these people are subject to the common infirmities of human nature, and gifted with our common faculties—varying in regard both to faculties and to infirmities, according to the thousand circumstances they are placed in.

"Although a serious difference of opinion still exists respecting the policy proper to be pursued towards barbarous people by civilized states, and also respecting the manner in which they ought to be treated by individuals, it is, on the other hand, generally agreed, that all barbarous people so far resemble us as neither to merit the designation of the most guileless beings on earth, which Columbus and some of his followers first gave to the Americans, nor to deserve that of "devils incarnate," terms scandalously used towards these poor people, by men who really treated them as if they had themselves been fiends. It cannot be denied that dissensions and wars, more or less rancorous and sanguinary, have uniformly been found to prevail between tribe and tribe. Cruel punishments have been common among barbarians; and they are inflicted for slight offences. Slavery has existed among them in various shapes. The weak, and especially women, have generally been tyrannized over. Good qualities, nevertheless, are not wanting in the most uncultivated denizens of the forest. They even estimate our possessions at too high a rate; and the difficulty of bringing the two races into lasting peaceful relations has ever arisen from our indisposition duly to respect their rights, rather than from any hesitation on their part to make the *necessary* concessions. They improve steadily when protected.

Means of civilizing barbarians.

"Assuming experience for a guide, and considering well the working of all prominent events, which, from time to time, have borne

past; when to act justly towards barbarous people was little professed, and less attempted. We have at length fully established the principle of equality* among all races of men; but we do not know how practically to work the principle out; and nothing will enable us to do so but a masterly command of all the intelligence which bears upon the various branches of this complex subject.

Elements of the new science.

The elements of this new science lie all around us, requiring only discriminating combination. We might

Interpreters.

begin the whole work with a body of interpreters in the language of every people with which our merchants, our

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upon the question, there seems reason to believe that by the character of aborigines being properly studied and respected;—by good measures of government; by the sufficient efforts of religious teachers;—by fair commercial dealings;—by the vigorous and just administration of law;—and by society at home judging well of the principal occurrences in distant settlements, and to that end being duly informed of the course of those occurrences;—by all this being considerately and perseveringly sought to be accomplished, so as to increase the good which a civilized community can do to barbarians, and check the evil it is so prone to inflict, a better result will follow than that which at present is so fatal to our poor neighbours, and so greatly to our dishonour."

"By examining what, in times past, Governments, and the teachers of religion, and the courts of law, have done; by studying what able writers have thought; by scrutinizing the conduct of traders, of maritime adventurers, explorers, and colonists,—honouring those among them who deserve honour, and disgracing the undeserving; a way will be opened to a future policy for the most part unexceptionable. The due exposure of false measures of government, of the insufficiency of the means of instruction of all kinds, of absurd and unjust laws, of fraudulent trading, of buccaneering sea voyages, of greedy and unprincipled colonizations, and of errors in public opinion arising mainly from want of knowledge of the truth;—all this will probably lead directly to such better course of policy, and suggest the system capable of enforcing it."

"That system will be the fruit, in fact, of a new science, deserving all our pains and labour to ensure its perfection."—*British Colonization and Coloured Tribes.* London, 1838.

* It is now an ordinary instruction of our governors to make no law distinguishing coloured people from Europeans. House of Commons Papers, 1845, No. 99, p. 8, art. 15.

travellers, our missionaries, our sailors, our soldiers, and our colonists have intercourse; instead of being exposed, as we now are, to great calamities, and greater perils, for want of knowledge of foreign languages.*

Knowledge of native usages and laws.

We might also easily learn the usages of those people, so that want of information, as in the land titles of the Australians, should not make us violate their rights, and destroy all hopes of their civilization, or, as in the case of South Africa, expose millions of men to new anarchy and bloodshed.

Justice and activity.

We might be just and active, where we are now careless and unjust; and so supply what is deficient in the medical, educational or political means of civilizing the barbarians connected with us. Once resolve to pursue the right course to its legitimate end, and experience will rapidly suggest all the measures adapted to the attainment of that end, whilst the pecuniary resources offered in the sale of wild colonial lands, will now furnish funds quite unknown to former times, for carrying out any reasonable plans for benefiting those barbarians, and liberally pay for the political agencies and other establishments for securing peace in all our relations with them.

Value of wild lands.

The Romans did not attempt humanely to civilize barbarians.

This would realize what the Romans never attempted —*the civilization* of the barbarous world; although their not doing so was the especial source of the misfortunes of Rome in her long and disastrous conflict with the *barbarians* after she had crushed the civilized. This capital point escaped Mr. Gibbon, whose error is the more grave, as his high authority almost silences objection. With a full sense of what is due to this great historian, I have ventured to enlarge upon the error, because his eminent editors and

* See Lord Jocelyn's Six Months with the Chinese Expedition, p. 145; and a higher authority than his lordship could make a strong statement on the evils arising in the late Chinese war from a want of interpreters.

translators (one of whom is no less distinguished as a minister than in literature) have shared his inattention to the modern facts which refute his testimony.*

Alternative to be settled.

It remains to be settled,—whether by persevering in a neglect of millions of barbarians craving our sympathy in all quarters, British statesmen shall leave them to sink under the superiority of our misguided power, notwithstanding the excellent things done for them by our missionaries, and by the better parts of our civilization;—or whether by adding a wise *system* of humane policy to other benefits, our statesmen shall make our own progress consistent with the safety and elevation of the barbarians.

It is that wise system of humane policy alone which can save modern states, and especially the British empire, from completing the miserable cycle of revolutions rashly said to belong inevitably to human institutions.

The events of our day justify sanguine expectations of so steady a progress in good among men, as to relieve us from all apprehension of disastrous re-actions. In less than 60 years, the time *is come*, which Herder inferred, from many analogies, "*must* come, when we can look back with as much compassion on our inhuman traffic in negroes, as on the ancient Roman slaves or Spartan helots;" † and we are clearly arrived at a crisis when, if due efforts are now made by *statesmen*, "*the diffusion of true knowledge*," ‡ upon which that great man depended to realize his anticipation, may be secured upon every important topic, and produce the correction of every material error; so that civilization may triumph over barbarism, without continuing to destroy the barbarian.

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* The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire edited by the Rev. H. H. Milman, 1838, vol. iv. 363.

The same translated by M. Guizot, 1828, vol. v. p. 171.

† Philosophy of History, Churchill's translation, book xv., chap. xi., vol. ii., p. 285.

‡ Ibid., p. 283.

The course to be pursued for attaining that end is plain; and it is satisfactory that the great evils, such as those shown in this Introduction to have been inflicted, through "*want of information,*" upon the inhabitants of the South African interior connected with the Cape colony, can be broadly distinguished from great benefits like those which "*true knowledge*" upon the subject has secured both to the aborigines of that colony, the Hottentots, and also to the tribes upon its eastern frontier, the Caffres; and the facts which thus demonstrate the value of knowledge in this field deserve the most careful attention.

The evils of ignorance contrasted with the advantages of knowledge upon barbarous countries.

The Hottentots, whom almost universal public opinion had declared to be insuperably barbarous, and condemned to ultimate extinction, are rescued. They are now increasing in number, and amalgamating with us in political institutions, and even extensively in blood, so as to be an exceedingly important instance of barbarians civilized.

The Hottentots of the Cape Colony, and the Caffres upon the borders of the Cape, much written upon, and advancing in condition and civilization.

Missionary exertions, especially those made by the Moravian and London Societies, did great things in favour of the Hottentots. But their present safety is the result of a long struggle, in which many others besides missionaries took part. This struggle began from 40 to 70 years ago, when public opinion was roused in their behalf by the works of the Swedish naturalist, Sparrman, one of the companions of Captain Cook; of Le Vaillant, the French traveller; Sir John Barrow, and others. Those appeals of the press imbued the governments of Holland and Britain with a new spirit; and thereupon a resolution began to prevail to treat these poor people more humanely. One reform, in particular, for the establishment of circuit courts to visit the remote districts of the Cape Colony, arose from a printed exposure of colonial barbarities. This happened before 1819, when, however, the safety of the Hottentots was far from being secured. But in that year Parliament founded a British settlement in those remote districts, an early con-

sequence of which was, the great increase of *knowledge* respecting our relations, not only with the Hottentots, but with our Caffre neighbours. Upon this occasion, also, books published in a benevolent spirit, upon those relations, made a deep impression on the Government;* and along with other causes, ultimately led to a great change of system, which has already established harmony between the Caffre tribes with the Cape colonists, uninterrupted for nine years, after half a century of conflicts between them; and produced a prospect of the steady advancement of those tribes in civilization, although some errors have threatened to mar the experiment.

The interior of South Africa insufficiently written upon.

On the other hand, the South African interior, shown already to have been, for the last seven years, the scene of anarchy and every violence, has, during the same time, not only been unreported upon to Parliament, but few travellers have visited it, and still fewer have enlarged upon its misery in their journals, or delays in the publication of their travels have deprived us of their testimony.

This coincidence of improvement in the state of the natives, with the multiplicity of books written about them, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the concurrence of new sanguinary collisions between the whites and the blacks, with the absence of printed intelligence concerning the progress of the whites, justifies an opinion, that the increase of intelligence would lessen the frequency and violence of those collisions. It is, therefore, of extreme importance that fresh means be devised to supply a succession of accounts of all that occurs in the remotest regions, now equally exposed to calamities from within, among the

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* House of Commons Paper, 1835, No. 252, p. 64. Despatch from Mr. Secretary Stanley to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope: "You are doubtless aware of the statements which have gone forth to the world in regard to the Commandos . . . . . It must be admitted that the system has been a fearful scourge to the native population."

native tribes themselves; and from without, through the irregular character of our settlements.

But the introduction of a good system which shall substitute regularity in the place of that irregularity, requires extensive preparations; and among other things, a careful survey of the past, wherever similar circumstances have prevailed, will be of great advantage in this matter. In this point of view, the history of the relations of the Ancients with the British Isles, will be found of great value, as affording evidence of the little prosperity to be enjoyed by the most successful conquerors, where the conquered are doomed to suffer degradations and injuries as an inferior race. How far our own career has violated the claims of humanity in this respect, and to what extent further change is needed, notwithstanding the improvement introduced in all our possessions, are points well deserving to be settled, and public approval of this volume is hoped for principally in reference to those points.*

An improved system requires more preparation.

Unquestionably these great objects may be eminently promoted by taking a correct and enlightened view of the

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* An attempt is making to provide means of disseminating in all quarters full and correct intelligence on this subject, by publishing, in a convenient form, the best original works extant upon the whole history of the British Isles upon and beyond sea. The richest libraries are deficient in many of these works; which it is a hopeless task to collect upon the spur of particular occasions. The suggestion of a distinguished living historian in favour of summaries concerning a great branch of the subject, British India, is little calculated to meet the difficulty; and such books must lead, at least, to suppressions fatal to truth, unless faithful records of facts be readily accessible. (The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. 4, p. 420, 1844.) When, also, Lord Mahon, after attributing our ignorance of British India to its history being written too learnedly, proposed *less copious works as more likely to make a stronger popular impression*, it was forgotten that powerful summaries of history will be best written and best read when the public has the command of the details which the most correctly describe the events sketched in those summaries.

The design alluded to, is formed in order to secure both learned authors and well-instructed readers, by opening the genuine stores of history to all; and the present volume, concerning a period when Britain was a province of Rome, is intended to introduce a great collection of original writings upon our Indian and colonial career.

Design formed for publishing the best sources of our Colonial and Indian History.

earliest periods of the history of the British Isles. That early history has ever been the source of great interest; and even our poets have so revelled in its fables as to have made those fables familiar household things among us.* But reflection upon that early history once also gave solid value to perhaps the most brilliant display of parliamentary eloquence which has ever graced the cause of philanthropy:—

"The civilization of Africa," said Mr. Pitt, in a most important debate on the abolition of the Slave Trade, "I have already shown that I consider as the leading feature in this question. Grieved am I to think that there should be a single person in this country, much more that there should be a single member in the British Parliament, who can look on the present dark, uncultivated, and uncivilized state of that continent, as a ground for continuing the slave trade,—as a ground not only for refusing to attempt the improvement of Africa, but even for hindering and intercepting every ray of light which might otherwise break in upon her,—as a ground for refusing to her the common chance and the common means with which other nations have been blessed, of emerging from their native barbarism.

"Are we justified, I ask, on any one ground of theory, or by any one instance to be found in the history of the world, from its very beginning to this day, in forming the supposition which I am now combating? Are we justified in supposing that the particular practice which we encourage in Africa, of men's selling each other for slaves, is any symptom of a barbarism that is incurable? Are we justified in supposing that even the practice of offering up human sacrifices proves a total incapacity for civilization? I believe it will be found, and perhaps much more generally than is supposed, that both the trade in slaves, and the still more savage custom of offering human sacrifices, obtained in former periods throughout many of those nations which now, by the blessings of Providence, and by a long progression of improvements, are advanced the farthest in civilization. I believe, sir, that, if we will reflect for an instant, we shall find that this observation comes directly home to our ownselves; and that, on the same ground on which we are now disposed to proscribe Africa for ever from all possibility of improvement, we ourselves might, in like manner, have been proscribed and for ever shut out from all the blessings which we now enjoy.

"There was a time, sir, which it may be fit sometimes to revive in the remembrance of our countrymen, when even human sacrifices are said to have been offered in this island. But I would peculiarly observe on this day, for it is a case precisely in point, that the very practice of the slave-trade once prevailed among us. Slaves, as we may read in Henry's History of Great Britain, were formerly an established article of our exports. "Great numbers," he says, "were exported like cattle from the British coast, and were to be seen exposed for sale in the Roman market." And the historian tells you that "adultery, witchcraft and debt were probably some of the chief sources of supplying the Roman market with British

* See Sir James Macintosh's History of England, vol. 1, p. 64.

slaves—that prisoners taken in war were added to the number—and that there might be among them some unfortunate gamesters, who, after having lost all their goods, at length staked themselves, their wives and their children." Every one of these sources of slavery has been stated, and almost precisely in the same terms, to be at this hour a source of slavery in Africa. And these circumstances, sir, with a solitary instance or two of human sacrifices, furnish the alleged proofs that Africa labours under a natural incapacity for civilization; that it is enthusiasm and fanaticism to think that she can ever enjoy the knowledge and the morals of Europe. Allow of this principle, as applied to Africa, and I should be glad to know why it might not also have been applied to ancient and uncivilized Britain. Why might not some Roman senator, reasoning on the principles of some honourable gentlemen, and pointing to *British barbarians*, have predicted with equal boldness, "*There* is a people that will never rise to civilization—*there* is a people destined never to be free—a people without the understanding necessary for the attainment of useful arts; depressed by the hand of nature below the level of the human species; and created to form a supply of slaves for the rest of the world."

"We, sir, have long since emerged from barbarism—we have almost forgotten that we were once barbarians—we are now raised to a situation which exhibits a striking contrast to every circumstance by which a Roman might have characterized us, and by which we now characterize Africa. But in the lapse of a long series of years, by a progression slow, and for a time almost imperceptible, we have become rich in a variety of acquirements, favoured above measure in the gifts of Providence, unrivalled in commerce, pre-eminent in arts, foremost in the pursuits of philosophy and science, and established in all the blessings of civil society. We are in the possession of peace, of happiness, and of liberty; we are under the guidance of a mild and beneficent religion; and we are protected by impartial laws, and the purest administration of justice. From all these blessings we must for ever have been shut out, had there been any truth in those principles which some have not hesitated to lay down as applicable to the case of Africa."*

Thus Mr. Pitt did not share the despondency which in our days has paralyzed the energies of some,† and misdirected the zeal of others,‡ relative to the possibility of civilizing savages; and his powerful appeal to ancient British history probably did much towards forming the resolution of the *whole* country to abolish negro slavery. The wars of the French Revolution unhappily intervened to prevent the proper development of the principle of Mr. Pitt's appeal. He pointed out the ways plainly enough by which

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* House of Commons, 2 April 1792.

† Speeches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on Mr. Buxton's motion in behalf of Aborigines, 1 July 1830, and of Sir Robert Peel on Scinde, 1844. But see the Speeches of the Duke of Wellington and of the Marquis of Lansdowne on China, the other way, in the same Session.

‡ See above, p. xxx. note †.

barbarians must be civilized—*religion, justice, social institutions, peace*; and in better times Mr. Pitt would doubtless have approved of what Mr. Fox afterwards called for so earnestly, and what it remains for us to establish, A GOOD SYSTEM FOR THE GUIDANCE OF OUR GOVERNORS,—A SYSTEM THAT SHALL BE JUST IN ITSELF, ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATIVES OF OUR REMOTE POSSESSIONS, AND BENEFICIAL TO OURSELVES;* which system would not only place our relations with those *natives* on a proper footing, but also put an end to the extreme difficulties, now of daily occurrence, upon questions of territorial titles to new countries, and of colonial government in all its branches.

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* See above, p. xxv.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing pages were printed, there have occurred in two British colonies deplorable proofs of the soundness of the opinion long urged by the compiler of this volume,—that such calamities can only be prevented by measures directly suited to the circumstances of each settlement, proportioned to the exigencies of each case, and planned in direct reference to the friendship and union of all races of men with us.

In New Zealand a war of a fearful character has broken out, in consequence of the neglect of the Government to provide a proper system for the safe intercourse and the just amalgamation, political and social, of the more civilized colonists with the less civilized natives.

In South Africa, (in addition to seven years of anarchy, with its inseparable attendants, loss of life and waste of property,) a new calamity has, by our neglect, befallen the Griqua Hottentots,—a people once proverbially barbarous, but become civilized and prosperous by the care of the missionaries, and through intercourse with the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. They have lately been exposed to the devastating attacks of *our* Cape emigrants, a body of men whose honest enterprise we refuse to foster, and whose excesses we do not restrain, although both points may be attained by wise measures, tending to the early civilization of Africa far beyond the tropics.

Whilst these new events* in South Africa have been noticed in the House of Commons slightly, the affairs of New Zealand have been discussed there in a way to disclose

* The case of South Africa now calls urgently for serious notice. The colony of Natal is at length founded, after twenty years of the most improvident resistance on the part of the government, attended by great disasters, where all might be prosperity. This colony, too,

the true sources of all our colonial disasters,—namely, FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS IN POLICY, AND EXTREME IGNORANCE OF FACTS.

But the candour* which has eminently marked the debates upon New Zealand, justifies a strong hope that an improved future is opening upon our colonial world; although the degree of paradox† betrayed by some members of the House of Commons, and the unpardonable indifference on the part of official men to colonial topics, boldly reproved in the House,‡ imperatively demand earnest efforts on all sides to realize that hope; and it is impossible that

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is now adopted in a manner which almost necessarily alienates thousands of our own subjects whom it is not difficult to conciliate. The consequence is a new dispersal of those thousands, to the extreme hazard of the peace of the interior. Such an example of evil arising directly from want of knowledge of facts, is not to be found in our history since the American war of 1776.

On the western coast of South Africa, our shipping settlements for guano have within the last few years amounted to thousands of seamen, without any provision known to Parliament being made to stay the disorders inevitable in such cases without proper precautions. In 1845 we had 679 guano ships, with 11,434 men.—House of Commons Papers, 1846, No. 135.

Grosser neglect prevails as to our convict colonies. By a statute of 1823, full records of crime in those colonies are provided for; and proper digests of those records would give so exact a picture of the moral condition of the people, that the Secretary of State must be completely protected against casual information at home, and also against delays in the transmission of occasional despatches from the local Governors. Yet, the late Secretary of State has defended his new system of penal discipline, not by its effects, which he might have known if the statute of 1823 had been attended to, but by accounts *to come* from the colony in question after the lapse of twelve months! (House of Lords, 3 March 1846.)

The same absence of *official* knowledge has led to the foundation of a new convict colony near the Asiatic Islands;—which must be more pregnant with evil than all the measures that have disgraced our colonial administration for the last hundred years.

* See especially the speeches of Viscount Howick (now Earl Grey), Mr. Barkly, Mr. Colquhoun, the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, Mr. Monckton Milnes, and Mr. Hawes.

† See especially the speeches of Mr. Roebuck and Sir Robert Peel.

‡ Speech of Mr. Milnes, 17 June 1845, on New Zealand.

such earnest efforts can fail; inasmuch as through these very remarkable debates of June 1845, and through their renewal in July, helped by events, so decided a change has taken place in the policy of the Government respecting the colonization of *New Zealand*, that another Session of Parliament, WITH NEW LIGHT, may reasonably be expected to produce wiser measures for ALL the colonies, according to their respective circumstances, and including all interests.

Happily the records of Parliament furnish a refutation of the opinion expressed in the New Zealand debates, *that the savage must necessarily perish in his intercourse with civilized men*;* and the reasoning and eloquence of Mr. Pitt, in his great African speech above quoted, may be safely set against anything that has yet been hazarded in our time on the subject.

But we have better means of refuting that fatal opinion than even the eloquence and logic of Mr. Pitt in his best days afforded—namely, UNDENIABLE EXPERIENCE *in two regions—South Africa, and the Hill countries of India,—the whole history of which may be produced in the minutest detail, in support of a more satisfactory view of the prospects of savages.*

The Hottentots connected with the Cape of Good Hope were once an oppressed and THEREFORE a perishing people. They are now increasing in number, and improving in civilization, because they are more fairly dealt with, after a struggle of three parts of a century, carried on by zealous missionaries† and eloquent writers,‡ who led the

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* Speech of Mr. Milnes, 17 June 1845, on New Zealand.

† Especially the Moravians and the London Society's missionaries.

‡ Especially Sparrman, Le Vaillant, Baron Hogendorp, Sir John Barrow, Dr. Philip, and Thomas Pringle. In two books by the author of this work,—the first entitled *Humane Policy*, published in 1830, and the second entitled *British Colonization*, and *Coloured Tribes*, numerous facts are collected in favour of the improved course of proceeding advocated by those writers.

Government* to establish the present improved policy in their favour.

The case of the various Hill people of India is less known in Europe than that of the Hottentots; but it equally refutes the opinion that savages cannot be improved. A single document, of so old a date as 1822, will conveniently open that case. It is entitled "A Regulation† for exempting the Garrow Mountaineers and other rude Tribes on the North-eastern Frontier of Rungpore from the operation of the existing Regulations; and for establishing a special system of Government for the tract of country occupied by them, or bordering on their possessions." It states the case as follows:—"There exist in different parts of the territories subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William races of people entirely distinct from the ordinary population, and to whose circumstances, therefore, the system of government established by the general regulations is wholly inapplicable. Such were the mountaineers of Bhaugulpore, for the reclaiming of whom to the arts of civilized life special arrangements were made by Government with the chiefs, some time before the introduction of the present system. These arrangements still subsist, having been incorporated into the code by the provisions of Regulation I. 1796, under which an entirely distinct system has been established for the administration of justice amongst the inhabitants of that mountainous tract. Savage tribes, in some respects similar, exist on the north-east frontier of Rungpore, of which the race denominated Garrows, and occupying the hills called after them, are the principal. *As yet little has been done to reclaim or civilize these*

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* The chief official supporters of this improved policy were, Commissioners Bigge, Colebrooke and Blair, Governor Sir R. Bourke, and Sir Andries Stockenstrom.

† House of Commons Papers for 1824, No. 114.

people. The reciprocal animosity which subsists between them and the inhabitants of the cultivated country, prevents any extensive intercourse of a pacific nature; while, on the contrary, their mutual injuries have produced feuds leading frequently to disturbance and bloodshed. The zemindars of the frontier have, there is reason to believe, usually been the aggressors, by encroaching on the independent territory of the Garrows and similar rude tribes, until, *despairing of other resource, the latter are driven to seize occasions of private revenge and retaliation.* These encroachments having been of long standing, several zemindars were, at the time of the perpetual settlement, in the receipt of incomes derived from cesses of various kinds levied from the tribes, and hence a portion of the tract of country occupied by them has been considered to lie within the operation of the general regulations, as forming part of the zemindarees. This, however, instead of conducing to reclaim the tribes to civilized habits, has rather had a contrary effect, the system being totally inapplicable to their savage and secluded condition, and being calculated to leave them at the mercy of the zemindars, rather than to offer any substantial means of redress. *The condition of the Garrow mountaineers and of the other rude tribes on that frontier has, for some time past, attracted much of the attention of the Governor-general in Council,* and *the circumstances which have conduced to check the progress of civilization amongst them have been fully investigated and ascertained.* With a view, therefore, to promote the desirable object of reclaiming these races to the habits of civilized life, it seems necessary that *a special plan for the administration of justice, of a kind adapted to their peculiar customs and prejudices,* SHOULD BE ARRANGED AND CONCERTED WITH THE HEAD MEN, and that measures should at the same time be taken for freeing them from any dependence on the zemindars

of the British provinces; *compensation* being of course made to the latter for any just pecuniary claims they may have over them."

This narrative (which is only one of several) displays the views entertained for many years by the Indian government on the subject. With a large experience, that Government concludes, that the savage *may be civilized* by a system of justice and consideration; and it is to be expected that the new spirit shown by the House of Commons in the late debates, will lead to *a full inquiry as to the fittest way to introduce such a system universally.*

How urgent the need of change universally is, may be inferred from the events of every hour in all the countries where the civilised and the barbarous are in conflict. Happily, the scenes of slaughter presented to us from East and West to the remotest South, begin to excite a strong feeling, that the policy which is accompanied by so much misery must be wrong. It only remains that public opinion be roused to the conviction, that profound ignorance of facts on the part of all Governments is the true source of the evil; and that remedies are to be had only through the spread of correct intelligence. How mischievous, as well as how extensive that ignorance is, has recently been shown in the case of Madagascar. Confessedly,* the French and English assailants *knew* nothing of the fortified, *civilized* defences of the natives; and it is clear, that neither the French nor the English Government is acquainted with the character of the people against whom both of us are waging war. Yet the French claim the dominion over that people, as of two centuries' standing; whilst within the last thirty years England made a most important treaty of friendship *and civilization* with a powerful chief of the same tribe. Both of us, also, have colonies within a few hours of Madagascar,

* Despatches of the French Commander, Moniteur, September 1845.

both are indebted to it for supplies of provisions of the first necessity, and both carry on an extensive trade with it. Further, the history of its relations with Europeans, and especially with France, and of late with English missionaries, is full of matter of the deepest and most melancholy interest. Barbarous as the natives are, and sanguinary as is their sovereign, we on our parts have neither been slow to shed their blood, nor in enslaving them; and it is not long ago that their *present* Government sent an embassy to England and to France, earnestly and wisely entreating the friendship and the aid of Christians in their arduous work of *independent* improvement. Surely here is cause for reflection and reproach against those to whom we have entrusted the duty of superintending the relations of their country with our respective colonies in the Eastern Ocean.

The case of Madagascar with the case of Circassia, and that of the South Sea Islands, and that of New Zealand, and that of South Africa, and those of the two Americas, North and South, and those of Algeria and India, in many respects, establish the strongest possible ground for a full inquiry by all civilized states *in concert*, into the existing system of relations between such civilized states and barbarous countries. The result of their full inquiry must be *a system of peaceful extension of empire on all sides, wherever civilization prevails*, in a way conducive to the interest of each great state, and beneficially to mankind at large. In the threatening discussions between England and the United States upon their respective claims to Oregon, the bearing of our erroneous colonial policy on the subject has been neglected. The claims, too, of the natives of the disputed country are quite forgotten, although they must be the principal victims in a war, and might receive the greatest advantages from a wise and peaceful system of civilized settlements in their country.

every where, *the first impulse of the savage is to flee from* the civilized man."*

The example quoted in this introduction (p. XLVII.) from almost the only Carthaginian work known to us, proves, on the contrary, that when the civilized visitors of the savage will obtain an interpreter to his language, their intercourse is friendly; but that enmity springs up from the misunderstandings occasioned by neglect of so simple a step; and by the consequent ignorance of the weaker parties as to the designs of the stronger.

The present work is compiled, in order to prepare, in all respects, for a better result. The First Part extends to the beginning of the second century of our era. The Second Part completes the collection of classical notices of the British Isles, which may be suitably closed with the sixth century.

It has been difficult to arrange the dates satisfactorily, and some passages have probably escaped the compiler's careful search.

During the progress of the work through the press, a change has been made in regard to the INSCRIPTIONS. It was originally intended to insert them among the texts according to their probable dates; and in two instances this has been done.† But notwithstanding, however, the obvious advantage of such a distribution of these important materials of history, most of them have hitherto been too little studied to justify the compiler, as he conceives, in persevering in so novel an experiment. They will, therefore, be collected in one series, as an additional portion of the work, with their own notes and translations.

It is highly satisfactory to be able to add, that the sub-

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* Voyage aux Regions Æquin. du Nouveau Monde, T. 3, c. 9. cited by Schayes, ib.

† Pages 63 and 86.

ject of *colonial reform*, which it is the purpose of this work to promote, is at length introduced into the House of Commons. A motion has been made there for the production of a document, which is really a code of colonial administration.* It is the instructions of Charles the Second, in 1670, to the Plantations' Committee of the Privy Council. This is a document traceable to the efforts of Lord Clarendon, and to those of Milton and Cromwell, and other great men of the seventeenth century, to make our progress beyond sea worthy of the nation, and consistent with the claims of humanity. On this subject, royalist and republican thought and acted alike, as all parties may now be expected to co-operate, in order to revive the best work of that age.

In 1835 a committee of the House of Commons examined the same point slightly, and at first it arrived at a sound conclusion upon the subject, which conclusion was afterwards unfortunately abandoned, in order to pursue the Niger expedition, and the more dangerous principle of investing missionary bodies with political powers. Before that committee the question was distinctly raised, whether an improved administration and improved laws would not save the weaker races from ruin; and in meeting this question the committee reported, that a proper reform of the existing system of colonial administration could be *easily* effected.† In support of this conclusion, besides the evidence given by the representatives of the great missionary societies in favour of a reform, the committee examined other witnesses upon the special measures necessary to its being well carried out.

The foundation of all such efforts, and the true way to success in so great a work, was urged to be, to collect and

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* House of Commons Votes, 8 April 1846, No. 8.

† House of Commons Papers, 1835, No. 0.91, p. 111.

methodize all the good information* that exists respecting the spreading of civilized among uncivilized men. In the present volume, it is attempted to make such a collection, including the period when civilized Rome was engaged in little better than a series of conquests for three centuries over our barbarian forefathers—ending in a frightful ruin.

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* The few ancient maps introduced to illustrate the original texts, are explained in the Notes (L.) and (M.)

CHAPTER I.

Passages from the Greek and Latin Classics, concerning the British Isles, before the Invasion of C. Julius Cæsar.

[Rufus Festus Avienus, who lived in the fourth Century, A. D., derived his knowledge of the voyage of Himilco to the North Seas, and of the other particulars concerning the British Isles, set forth in his two poems, entitled "*Ora Maritima*" and "*Descriptio Orbis Terræ*," from Carthaginian sources. As the earliest of these sources probably preceded the earliest Greek accounts of the British Isles known to us, the passages from Avienus are here placed before all those accounts. The voyage of Himilco is said by Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. 67, to have been made at the same time with Hanno's, of which the period is uncertain.]

Rufi Festi Avieni Ora Maritima.

vers. 80—183.

Terræ patentis orbis effuse jacet,
Orbique rursus unda circumfunditur.
Sed qua profundum semet insinuat salum
Oceano ab usque, ut gurges hic nostri maris
Longe explicetur, est Atlanticus sinus.
Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius:
Hic sunt Columnæ pertinacis Herculis,
Abila atque Calpe: (hæc læva dicti cespitis,
Libyæ propinqua est Abila,) duro perstrepunt
Septentrione, sed loco certæ tenent.
Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput,
(Œstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius)
Molesque celsa saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime vergit notum.
Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice

Sinus dehiscit incolis Œstrymnicus,
In quo insulæ se se exserunt Œstrymnides,
Laxe jacentes, et metallo divites
Stanni atque plumbi, multa vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia,
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus:
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos, sed rei ad miraculum,
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in Sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
Hæc inter undas multa cespitem jacet,
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
Tartessiisque in terminos Œstrymnidum
Negotiandi mos erat: Carthaginis
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora:
Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor,
Ut ipse semet re probasse retulit
Enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit:
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,
Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet.
Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites
Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti vice
Retinere puppim, dicit hic nihilominus,
Non in profundum terga demitti maris,
Parvoque aquarum vix supertexi solum:
Obire semper huc et huc ponti feras,
Navigia lenta et languide repentia
Internatare belluas. si quis dehinc

Ab insulis Œstrymnicis lembum audeat
Urgere in undas, axe qua Lycaonis
Rigescit æthra, cespitem Ligurum subit
Cassum incolarum. namque Celtarum manu,
Crebrisque dudum prœliis vacuata sunt:
Liguresque pulsi, ut sæpe fors aliquos agit,
Venere in ista, quæ per horrentes tenent
Plerumque dumos: creber his scrupus locis,
Rigidæque rupes, atque montium minæ
Cœla inseruntur, et fugax gens hæc quidem
Diu inter arcta cautium duxit diem,
Secreta ab undis: nam sali metuens erat
Priscum ob periclum: post quies et otium,
Securitate roborante audaciam,
Persuasit altis devehi cubilibus,
Atque in marinos jam locos descendere.
Post illa rursum, quæ supra fati sumus,
Magnus patescit æquoris fusi sinus
Ophiusam ad usque: rursum ab hujus litore
Internem ab æquor, qua mare insinuare se
Dixi ante terris, quodque Sardum nuncupant,
Septem dierum tenditur pediti via.
Ophiusa porro tanta panditur latus,
Quantam jacere Pelopis audis insulam
Graiorum in agro. hæc dicta primo Œstrymnis est,
Locos et arva Œstrymnicis habitantibus;
Post multa serpens effugavit incolas,
Vacuamque glebam nominis fecit sui.
Procedit inde in gurgites Veneris jugum,
Circumlatratque pontus insulas duas
Tenue ob locorum inhospitas, arvi jugum
Rursum tumescit prominens in asperum
Septentrionem: cursus autem hinc classibus
Usque in columnas efficacis Herculis
Quinque est dierum, post pelagia est insula,

Herbarum abundans, atque Saturno sacra:
Sed vis in illa tanta naturalis est,
Ut si quis hanc innavigando accesserit,
Mox excitetur propter insulam mare,
Quatiatur ipsa, et omne subsiliat solum
Alte intremiscens, cætero ad stagni vicem
Pelago silente. prominens surgit dehinc
Ophiusæ in oras atque ab usque arvi jugo
In hæc locorum bidui cursus patet.
At, qui dehiscit inde prolixe sinus,
Non totus uno facile navigabilis
Vento recedit: namque medium accesseris
Zephyro vehente, reliqua deposcunt Notum.
Et rursus inde si petat quisquam pede
Tartessiorum litus, exsuperet viam.
Vix luce quarta, si quis ad nostrum mare
Malacæque portum semitam tetenderit,
In quinque soles est iter.

vers. 372—415.

. . . . . Caryandæus Scylax
Medium fluentum inter Columnas (Herculis) asserit
Tantum patere, quantus æstus Bosporo est.
Ultra has Columnas, propter Europæ latus,
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam; mos et ollis hic erat,
Ut planiore texerent fundo rates,
Quo cymba tergum fusior brevius maris
Prælaberetur. porro in occiduam plagam
Ab his Columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
Himilco tradit. Nulla hæc adiit freta,
Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit,
Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,
Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet:
Dehinc quod æthram quodam amictu vestiat

Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitem,
Et crassiore nubilam perstet die.
Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul
Circumlatrator, iste pontus maximus.
Hic gurges oras ambiens, hic intimo
Salis irrigata, hic parens nostri maris,
Plerosque quippe extrinsecus curvat sinus,
Nostrumque in orbem vis profundi illabitur,
Sed nos loquemur maximos tibi quatuor.
Prima hujus ergo in cespitem insinuatum est
Hesperius æstus, atque Atlanticum salum;
Hyrcana rursus unda, Caspium mare;
Salum Indicorum, terga fluctus Persici;
Arabsque gurges sub tepente jam Noto.
Hunc usus olim dixit Oceanum vetus,
Alterque dixit mos Atlanticum mare.
Largo explicatur gurges hujus ambitu,
Produciturque latere prolixe vago.
Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,
Ut vix arenas subjacentes occulat.
Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens,
Atque impeditur æstus hîc uligine:
Vis belluinum pelagus omne internatat,
Multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.
Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus Oceano super
Spectasse semet, et probasse retulit:
Hæc nos, ab imis Punicorum annalibus
Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi.

Rufi Festi Avieni Descriptio Orbis Terræ.

vers. 414—420.

. . . . . Tellus Europa columnis
Proxima magnanimos alit æquo cespite Iberos.
Hi super Oceani borealis frigida tangunt

Æquora, et excursu diffusi latius agri
Arva tenent, duris nimium vicina Britannis;
Flavaque cæsariem Germania porrigit oram,
Dumosa Hercyniæ peragrans confinia silvæ.

vers. 738—760.

Propter Atlantei tergum salis Æthiopum gens
Hesperides habitant; dorsum tumet hic Erytheæ,
Hicque Sacri, sic terga vocat gens ardua, montis:
Nam protenta jugum tellus trahit. hoc caput amplæ
Proditur Europæ: genitrix hæc ora metalli,
Albentis stanni venas vomit. acer Iberus
Hic freta veloci percurrit sæpe faselo.
Eminus hic aliæ gelidi prope flabra Aquilonis
Exsuperant undas et vasta cacumina tollunt.
Hæ numero geminæ, pingues sola, cespitis amplæ,
Conditur occidui qua Rhenus gurgitis unda,
Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.
Hic spumosus item ponti liquor explicat æstum,
Et brevis e pelago vertex subit: Hic chorus ingens
Fœminei cœtus pulchri colit orgia Bacchi:
Producit noctem ludus sacer: aëra pulsant
Vocibus, et crebris late sola cassibus urgent.
Longa dehinc celeri si quis rate marmora currat;
Inque Lycaonias cymbam procul urgeat arctos,
Inveniet vasto surgentem vertice Thulen.

The Argonautics of Orpheus. (Of uncertain date; but unquestionably from the most ancient sources known to the Greeks.)

vers. 1082—vers. 1249.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δεκάτη ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἠώς,
Ῥιπαίους αὐλῶνας ἐκέλσαμεν, ἓκ δ' ἄφαρ Ἀργὼ
ᾗϊ ἐπιπροθέουσα διὰ στεινοῖο ῥεέθρου·
ἔμπεσε δ' Ὠκεάνῳ· Κρόνιον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν

πόντον Ὑπερβόρεοι μέροπες, νεκρήν τε θάλασσαν.
Οὐκέτι δὲ προφυγεῖν ἐδοκεύομεν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον·
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὁρμαίνουσαν ὑπὸ κρατερῇφι βίῃφι
νῆα μολεῖν ἴθυν' ἐπὶ δεξιὸν αἰγιαλοῖο
Ἀγκαῖος, ξεστοῖσι πιθήσας πηδαλίοισιν.
Ἣ δ' ἔθορεν δισσαῖσι βιαζομένη παλάμῃσιν,
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μογερῇσιν ἐδαμνάμεθ' εἰρεσίῃσι,
χεῖρες δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνον, ἀκηχέμενοι δὲ φίλον κῆρ
πήχεας ἀμπλέξαντες, ἐνηρείσαντο μέτωπα,
ἱδρῶ ἀαποψύχοντε· κέαρ δέ τε τείρετο λιμῷ.
Ἀγκαῖος δ' ἐξᾶλτο, καὶ ἄλλους πάντας ὄτρυνεν
ἥρωας, μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν.
Οἳ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τέναγός τε πολυστρέπτοισι κάλωσι.
Βάντες ὑπὲρ τοίχων, ἅλαδε σφυρὰ κοῦφα βάλοντο.
Ὠκά δ' ἄρ' ἀρτήσαντο πολυστρέπτοισι κάλωσι,
πρύμνης ἐξ ὑπάτης δολιχὴν μέρμιθα βαλόντες,
Ἄργος τ' Ἀγκαῖός τε, καὶ ἀρχὰς δῶκαν ἑλέσθαι
ἥρωσιν. τοὶ δ' αἶψα δι' αἰγιαλοῖο θέοντες
σῦρον ἐπειγόμενοι· σὺν δ' ἕσπετο ποντοπόρος νῆυς
τέμνουσ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα παρ' ἀ ξέστοις κροκάλοισιν.
Οὐ γάρ οἱ λιγὺς οὖρος ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν ὄρινεν
βυκτάων ἀνέμων κεινὴν ἅλα· κωφὰ δὲ πόντος
κεῖθ' ὑπένερθ' Ἑλίκης, καὶ Τηθύος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἕκτη φαεσίμβροτος ἦλυθεν ἠώς,
ἔθνος ἐς ἀφνειὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἐξικόμεσθα
Μακροβίων, οἳ δὴ πολέας ζώουσ' ἐνιαυτοὺς,
δώδεκα χιλιάδας μηνῶν ἑκατονταετήρους
πληθούσης μήνης, χαλεπῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων·
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν μῆκος τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐξανύσωσιν,
ὕπνῳ ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ θανάτου μάρπτουσι τελευτήν.
Οὐδ' ἄρα τοῖσι μέλει βίοτος καὶ ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων,
ποίαις δ' ἐν μεσάταις μελιηδέα φορβὰ νέμονται,
ἔρσῃ ὑπ' ἀμβροσίῃ θεῖον ποτὸν ἐξαρύοντες,
πάντες ὁμῶς στίλβοντες ὁμηλικίην ἐρατεινὴν.
Μειλιχίη δέ οἱ αἰὲν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε γαλήνη

παίδεσιν ἠδὲ τοκεῦσιν, ἐπὶ φρεσὶν, επει φρεσιν οἶδαν εοῖσιν,
αἴσιμά τε ῥέζειν πεπνυμένα τ' ἐξαγορεύειν.
Καὶ τοὺς μέν ῥ' ἀθρόους παραμείβομεν, αἰγιαλόνδε
ποσσὶν ἐπιστείβοντες. ἔπειτα δὲ Κιμμερίοισιν
νῆα θοὴν ἐπάγοντες ἱκάνομεν, οἵ ῥά τε μοῦνοι
αἴγλης ἄμμοροί εἰσι πυριδρόμου ἠελίοιο.
Ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ῥίπαιον ὄρος καὶ Κάλπιος αὐχὴν
ἀντολίας εἴργουσ' · ἔπι οἱ κέκλιται δὲ πελώρη
ἆσσον ἐπισκιάουσα μεσημβρινὸν ἠέρα Φλέγρη.
Δείελον αὖ κρύπτουσι φάος ταναηκέες Ἄλπεις
κείνοισιν μερόπεσσιν, ἀχλὺς δ' ἐπικέκλιται αἰεί.
Ἔνθα δ' ἀφορμηθέντες ἐπειγομένοισι πόδεσσιν
ἴξομεν ἀγκῶνα στυφελὸν καὶ νήνεμον ἀκτήν,
ἔνθα περ ἀμβλύζων ποταμὸς δίνῃσι βαθείαις
θείει χρυσορόας Ἀχέρων κρυεροῦ διὰ χώρου,
ἀργυροειδὲς ὕδωρ προρέων · λίμνη δὲ κελαινὴ
ἀνδέχεται · παταγεῖ δὲ παρ' ὄχθῃσιν ποταμοῖο
δένδρεα τηλεθόωντα ποτὶ χερόν. οἷσί τε καρπὸς
βέβριθεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα συννεχὲς αἰεί.
Ἔνθα δέ οἱ χθαμαλή τε καὶ εὔβοτος Ἑρμιόνεια
τείχεσιν ἠρήρεισται ἐϋκτιμέναις ἐπ' ἀγυιαῖς.
Ἐν δὲ γένη ζώουσι δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,
οἷσιν ἀποφθιμένοις ἄνεσις ναύλοιο τέτυκται.
Καὶ δ' αὖ οἱ ψυχαὶ μετεκίαθον εἰς Ἀχέροντα
πορθμίδος ἐκ γλαφυρῆς · σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ εἰσι πόληος
ἄῤῥηκτοί τ' Ἀΐδαο πύλαι, καὶ δῆμος Ὀνείρων.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ τῶνδε πύλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν
σφῇ ἄτῃ βαρὺν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ἔβημεν,
δή ῥα τότ' Ἀγκαῖος νῆ' ἧς κίεν · αἶψα δ' ἑταίρους
εἰσβαίνειν ἐκέλευσε κεκμηότας ἄμμιγα πάντας.
Τοὺς ὅγε καὶ μύθοισι προσήυδα μειλιχίοισιν ·

Τλῆτε, φίλοι, τὸν μόχθον · ἐπεὶ νύ τοι οὔ τι χέρειον
ἔλπομ' ἀναστήσεσθαι · ἐπιφρίσσοντα γὰρ ἤδη
ἀκραῆ Ζέφυρον καταδέρκομαι · οὐδ' ἀτέκμαρτον
ὕδωρ Ὠκεανοῦ κελαρύζεται ἐν ψαμάθοισιν.

Ἀλλὰ θοῶς ἱστὸν μὲν ἐνιστήσασθε μεσόδμῃ,
λύσατε δὲ πρυτόνοις ὀθόνας· ἐκ δ' ὅπλα χέοντες,
σφίγξατ' ἐπισταμένως, τοίχων ἑκάτερθε βαλόντες.
Ὣς οἱ μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα πονείαθον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης
νηὸς ἐπιβρομέουσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγός,
ἣν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῴῃσι τομαῖς ἡρμόσσατο Παλλάς·
ὣδε δ' ἔφη, θάμβος δὲ περὶ φρένας ἵκετο πάντας·
Ὤιμοι ἐγών, ὄφελόν με διαῤῥαισθεῖσαν ὀλέσθαι
Κυανέαις πέτρῃσιν ἐν Ἀξείνῳ τε κλύδωνι·
ἢ οἱ νῦν ἀνάπυστον ἀϊδρείην βασιλήων
νώνυμνος φορέεσκον. ἐπεὶ νύ οἱ αἰὲν Ἐριννὺς
αἵματος ἐμφύλοιο δεδουπότος Ἀψύρτοιο
ὑστερόπους ἕπεται· σπέρχει δέ τοι ἄτη ἐπ' ἄτην.
Νῦν γὰρ δὴ λυγρῇ τε καὶ ἀλγεινῇ κακότητι
ἕξομαι, ἣν νήσοισιν Ἰερνίσιν ἄσσον ἵκωμαι.
Εἰ γὰρ μὴ μ' ἱερῇσιν ἐπιγνάμψαντες ἄκρῃσιν
κόλπον ἔσω γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης
ἴξεσθ', ἢμ πέλαγός κεν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐκτὸς ἵκωμαι.
Ὣς εἰποῦσ' αὐδὴν κατερήτυεν· ἦν δ' ἄρα θυμὸς
παχνώθη Μινύῃσι διαμπερές· οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον
σχήσειν λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, Ἰήσονος εἵνεκα φίλτρων.
Πολλὰ δὲ μερμήριζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν,
ἦμιν ἀποφθίσωσι καὶ ἰχθύσι κύρμα βάλωσιν
αἰνολεχῆ Μήδειαν, ἀποστρέψωσι δ' Ἐριννύν·
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε περικλυτὸς Αἴσονος υἱός,
καί οἱ λισσόμενος θυμὸν κατερήτυ' ἑκάστου.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεί τ' ἀρχοῦς ἐτυμηγόρον ἔκλυον αὐδην,
ἧντο παρὰ σκαλμοῖσι θοῶς, λάζοντο δ' ἐρετμά.
Ἀγκαῖος δ' οἴηκας ἐπισταμένως ἐτίταινεν·
πὰρ δ' ἄρα νῆσον ἄμειβον Ἰερνίδα· καί οἱ ὄπισθεν
ἴκτο καταΐγδην δνοφερὴ βρομέουσα θύελλα,
ἐν δ' ὀθόνας κόλπωσε· θέεν δ' ἄφαρ ὑγρὸν ἐπ' οἶδμα
νῆυς. οὐδ' ἄρ' τις ἔτ' αὖτις ἀναπλεύσεσθαι ὀλέθρου
ἤλπετο· δωδεκάτη γὰρ ἐπήϊεν ἠριγένεια.
Οὐδέ τις ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ὁππόθ' ἄρ' ἐσμέν,

εἰ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχατιαῖς ἀκαλαρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο
Λυγκεὺς εἰσενόησεν (ὃ γὰρ τήλιστον ὄπωπε)
νῆσον πευκήεσσαν, ἰδ᾽ εὐρέα δώματ᾽ ἀνάσσης
Δήμητρος· πέρι δ᾽ αὖ τε μέγα νέφος ἐστεφάνωτο.
ὧν πέρι μῦθον ἅπαντ᾽ ἔκλυες, Μουσαῖε δαΐφρον,
ὥς ποτε Φερσεφόνην τέρεν᾽ ἄνθεα χερσὶ δρέπουσαν
ἐξάπαφον συνόμαιμοι ἀν᾽ εὐρύ τε καὶ μέγα ἄλσος·
αὐτὰρ ἔπειθ᾽ ὥς οἱ Πλουτεὺς, κυανότριχας ἵππους
ζευξάμενος, κούρην ἐβιήσατο δαίμονος αἴσῃ·
ἁρπάξας δ᾽ ἔφερεν διὰ κύματος ἀτρυγέτοιο·
δὴ τότ᾽ ἐγὼν ἀπόειπον ἐπιπλώοντα νέεσθαι
νήσου ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνα καὶ αἰγλήεντα τέρεμνα,
ἔνθ᾽ οὔτις σὺν νηΐ περᾷ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων·
οὐδέ οἱ ἐστὶ λιμὴν νηῶν ὀχὸς ἀμφιελισσῶν,
ἀλλά οἱ ἠλίβατος πέτρη περὶ πάντα πέφυκεν
ὑψηλή· τὰ δὲ καλὰ φύει μενοεικέα δῶρα.
Καί ῥά οἱ οὐκ ἀπίθησε νεὼς κυανοπρώροιο
ἰθύντωρ᾽ Ἀγκαῖος, ἀναρρώων δ᾽ ἀνέτρεψε,
σκαιὸν ὑπεγκλίνας οἰήϊον. ἦν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔπειχεν
μή τι κατ᾽ ἰθὺ περᾷν, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ δ᾽ εἶργε θέουσαν.
Ἤματι δὲ τριτάτῳ Κίρκης δόμον ἐξικόμεσθα,
Αἰαῖον ποτὶ χέρσον ἁλιστεφέας τε θεράπνας·
καί ῥά οἱ αἰγιαλοῖσιν ἐκέλσαμεν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ,
πείσματα δ᾽ ἐν πέτρῃσιν ἐδήσαμεν. αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων
νηὸς ἀποπροέηκε μολεῖν ἐρίηρας ἑταίρους,
διζομένους, εἴ τίς σφι βροτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν
ναιετάει, γνῶναί τε πόλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν.
Τοῖς δ᾽ ἄφαρ ὠμάρτησε καταντίον ἐρχομένοισιν
κούρη ὁμογνήτη μεγαλόφρονος Αἰήταο,
Ἡελίου θυγάτηρ· (Κίρκην δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν
μήτηρ Ἀστερόπη καὶ τηλεφανὴς Ὑπερίων)
ἦ ῥα θοῶς ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλυθεν· ἓκ δ᾽ ἄρα πάντες
θάμβεον εἰσορόωντες· ἀπὸ κρατὸς γὰρ ἔθειραι
πυρσαῖς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἀλίγκιοι ἠώρηντο·
στίλβε δὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα, φλογὸς δ᾽ ἀπέλαμπεν ἀϋτμή.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Μήδειαν ἐσέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
λῖτι καλυπτομένην, ἑανῷ δέ οἱ εἶχε παρειὰς
αἰδομένη· χλωρὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀκάχητο·
τήν οἱ ἐποικτείρουσα προκύδανε καὶ φάτο Κίρκη·
Ἆ δειλή, τί νύ σοι τοίην Κύπρις ὤπασε μοῖραν;
οὐ γάρ τοι λελάθεσθε, τάπερ ῥέξαντες ἵκεσθε
νῆσον ἐφ' ἡμετέρην πανετώσιον, εἵνεκα πατρὸς
γηραιοῦ, κάσιός τε, τὸν ἐκπάγλως ὀλέσαντες
* * *
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὔμμε πάτρισσιν ὀΐομαι ἄσσον ἱκέσθαι,
αἰὲν ἀναγνίστοισιν ἀλιτροσύναις ἀχέοντας,
μέσφ' ὅταν ἐκνίψησθε μύσος θείοισι καθαρμοῖς,
Ὀρφεὺς ἰδμοσύνῃσι, παρὰ κροκάλῃσι Μαλείης.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμετέροιο δόμου θέμις ἐντὸς ἱκέσθαι
προστροπίους· τοίῳ σφι λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένοι ἐστέ.
Ἀλλά οἱ αὐτίκ' ἐγὼ πρόφρων ξεινήϊα πέμψω,
σῖτον καὶ μέθυ λαρὸν ἔχειν, σύν τε ῥέα πολλά.
Ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἄψορρον ἀπέπτατο· νηῒ δὲ μέσσῃ
δαιτός τ' ἠδὲ ποτοῖο τετυγμένα τεύχε' ἔκειτο.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπειγομένοισι θέειν λιγὺς οὖρος ἀῆναι·
καὶ τότε λυσάμενοι κείνης ἀπὸ πείσματα νήσου,
κῦμα διαπρήσσοντες ἀνὰ στόμα Ταρτησσοῖο
ἱκόμεθα, στήλῃσι δ' ἐκέλσαμεν Ἡρακλῆος.

HERODOTUS.

(BORN 484 B. C.; LIVING IN 409 B.C.)

B. iii. c. 115-16.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἠριδανόν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτευ τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾷν λόγος ἐστὶ, οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ὁ

Ἠριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορέει τὸ οὔνομα, ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ οὐ βαρβαρικὸν, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δέ τινος ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ, οὐδενὸς, αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὅ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ, καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

ARISTOTLE.

(BORN 384 B. C.; DIED 322 B. C.)

ΠΕΡΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΩΝ ΑΚΟΥΣΜΑΤΩΝ.

50. Τὸν κασσίτερον τὸν Κελτικὸν τήκεσθαί φασι πολὺ ταχίον μολύβδου. Σημεῖον δε τῆς εὐτηξίας, ὅτι τήκεσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· χρώζει γοῦν, ὡς ἔοικε, ταχύ. Τήκεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψίχεσιν, ὅταν γένηται πάγη, ἐγκατακλειομένου ἐντος, ὡς φασὶ, καὶ συνωθουμένου τοῦ θερμοῦ τοῦ ἐνυπάρχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

136. Λέγουσι τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰ Γάδειρα καλούμενα, ἔξω πλεόντας Ἡρακλείων Στηλῶν ἀπηλιώτῃ ἀνέμῳ ἡμέρας τέτταρας, παραγίνεσθαι εἴς τίνας τόπους ἐρήμους θρύου καὶ φύκους πλήρεις· οὓς, ὅταν μὲν ἄμπωτις ᾖ μὴ βαπτιζέσθαι, ὅταν δὲ πλημμύρα, κατακλυζέσθαι, ἐφ' ὧν εὑρισκέσθαι ὑπερβάλλον θύννων πληθὸς, καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν καὶ τοῖς παχέσιν, ἀπίστον, ὅταν ἐποκειλώσιν· οὓς ταριχεύοντες καὶ συντιθέντες εἰς ἀγγεῖα, διακομιζούσιν εἰς Καρχήδονα. Ὧν Καρχηδόνιοι μονῶν οὐ ποιοῦνται ἐξαγώγην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆν ἀρετὴν ἣν ἔχουσι κατὰ τὴν βρῶσιν, αὐτοὶ καταναλισκοῦσιν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ.

3–12. Εἶτα κατ' ὀλιγὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ Κέλτικην σφίγγει τὴν οἰκουμένην, πρός τε τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον, καὶ τὰς προειρήμενας Ἡρακλείους Στήλας, ὧν ἔξω περιῤῥέει τὴν γὴν ὁ Ὠκεάνος. Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν νῆσοι μέγισται τε τυγχανούσιν οὖσαι δύο, Βρετάνικαι λεγομέναι, Ἄλβιον καὶ Ἰέρνη, τῶν προϊστορημένων μειζοὺς, ὑπὲρ τοὺς Κελτοὺς κείμεναι. οὐκ

ὀλίγαι δὲ μίκραι περὶ τὰς Βρετάνικας καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κύκλῳ περιεστεφανῶνται τὴν οἰκουμένην ταυτὴν, ἣν δε νήσον εἰρήκαμεν.

PYTHEAS of Marseilles.

[He made discoveries in Britain about 300 B.C. His works are quoted by Strabo and Pliny.]

ERATOSTHENES of Cyrene.

[Born 275 B. C.; died 194 B. C. Passages from the works of this great geographer, on Britain, are preserved in Strabo.]

HIPPARCHUS of Nicæa, in Bithynia.

(flourished 150 B.C.)

[This great mathematician made extensive improvements in astronomical geography. He fixed the most northerly point of the latitude of Britain in 60° 51′ 54″. A passage from him upon Britain is preserved in Strabo.]

POLYBIUS of Megalopolis.

[It is known that Polybius took much interest in the condition of the British Isles; but only one passage on the subject is to be found in his works as we possess them. Other passages are referred to in Strabo, lib. ii. and lib. iv. Polybius lived from about 206 to 124 B. C.]

Polybii Histor. Lib. III. c. LVII. s. 15.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν διήγησιν, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἠγάγομεν· πρὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀγώνων ἄρξασθαι, βραχέα βουλόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἁρμοζόντων τῇ πραγματείᾳ διελθεῖν. Ἴσως γὰρ δή τινες ἐπιζητήσουσι, πῶς, πεποιημένοι τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν τόπων, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλείους στήλας στόματος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖον εἰρήκαμεν, οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαινόντων ἰδιωμάτων· οὐδὲ μὴν περὶ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων, καὶ τῆς τοῦ καττιτέρου κατασκευῆς, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ

χρυσείων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἀμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸν πλεῖστον διατίθενται λόγον.

T. CARUS LUCRETIUS.

(BORN 97 B. C.; COMMITTED SUICIDE 55 B. C.)

Lib. VI. l. 1070—1111.

VITIGENI latices in aquai fontibus audent
Misceri, cum pix nequeat gravis, et leve olivum:
Purpureusque colos conchyli mergitur una
Corpore cum lanæ, dirimi qui non queat usquam:
Non si Neptuni fluctu renovare operam des:
Non, mare si totum velit eluere omnibus undis.
Denique res auro argentum concopulat una,
Ærique æs plumbo fit uti jungatur ab albo.
Cetera jam quam multa licet reperire? Quid ergo?
Nec tibi tam longis opus est ambagibus usquam,
Nec me tam multam hic operam consumere par est:
Sed breviter paucis restat comprendere multa.
  Quorum ita texturæ ceciderunt mutua contra,
Ut cava conveniant plenis hæc illius, illa
Hujusque; inter se junctura horum optima constat.
Est etiam, quasi ut annellis hamisque plicata
Inter se quædam possint coplata teneri:
Quod magis in lapide hoc fieri ferroque videtur.
  Nunc, ratio quæ sit morbis, aut unde repente
Mortiferam possit cladem conflare coorta
Morbida vis hominum generi, pecudumque catervis,
Expediam. Primum multarum semina rerum
Esse supra docui, quæ sint vitalia nobis:
Et contra, quæ sint morbo mortique, necesse est
Multa volare; ea cum casu sunt forte coorta,
Et perturbarunt cœlum, fit morbidus aër.
Atque ea vis omnis morborum, pestilitasque,

Aut extrinsecus, ut nubes nebulæque superne
Per cœlum veniunt, aut ipsa sæpe coorta
De terra surgunt, ubi putrorem humida nacta est,
Intempestivis pluviisque, et solibus icta.
Nonne vides etiam, cœli novitate et aquarum
Tentari, procul a patria quicunque domoque
Adveniunt? ideo quia longe discrepat aër.
Nam quid Britannum cœlum differre putamus,
Et quod in Ægypto est, qua mundi claudicat axis?
Quidve quod in Ponto est differre a Gadibus, atque
Usque ad nigra virum, percoctaque sæcla calore.
Quæ cum quatuor inter se diversa videmus,
Quatuor a ventis et cœli partibus esse,
Tum color et facies hominum distare videntur
Largiter, et morbi generatim sæcla tenere.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

(BORN 106 B. C.; PUT TO DEATH 43 B.C.)

Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem, Lib. II. Ep. XII.

[B. C. 55.]

De Cæsare fugerat me ad te scribere. Ad quem ego rescripsi, nihil esse, quod posthac arcæ nostræ fiducia conturbaret: lusique in eo genere et familiariter, et cum dignitate. Amor autem ejus erga nos perfertur omnium nuntiis singularis.

Ib. Ep. XV a., ad eund.

A. d. IV. Non. Jun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras, datas Placentiæ: deinde alteras postridie, datas Laude Nonis, cum Cæsaris litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. Sunt ista quidem magna, vel potius maxima. Habent enim vim magnam ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem. Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in

istis rebus ego plurimi æstimo, id jam habeo: te scilicet primum tam inservientem communi dignitati: deinde Cæsaris tantum in me amorem: quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a se exspectare vult, antepono. Litteræ vero ejus una datæ cum tuis, quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, et recordatio veteris amoris: deinde, se effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui, te, quum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse lætarer: incredibiliter delectarunt. Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam. Ego vero ardenti quidem studio hoc fortasse efficiam, quod sæpe viatoribus, quum properant, evenit: ut, si serius, quam voluerunt, forte surrexerint; properando, etiam citius, quam si de multa nocte vigilassent, perveniant, quo velint: sic ego, quoniam in isto homine colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule sæpe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem, tum equis, tum vero (quoniam scribis poëma ab eo nostrum probari) quadrigis poëticis. Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romæ præsertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Sed videro. Fortasse enim (ut fit) vincet tuus amor omnes difficultates. Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalse, et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit. Negat enim, in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quemquam fuisse, qui vadimonium concipere posset. M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi (nam Domitius se derideri putasset, si esset a me rogatus: hoc enim est ejus quotidianum, se ne tribunum militum quidem facere: etiam in senatu lusit Appium collegam, propterea isse ad Cæsarem, ut aliquem tribunatum auferret): sed in alterum annum. Id et Curtius ita volebat. Tu, quemadmodum te censes oportere esse in republica et in nostris inimicitiis; ita et esse, et fore, auricula infima scito molliorem.

Ep. XVI., ad eund.

Venio nunc ad id, quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam littus insulæ. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei, quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus exspectatione ea, quam metu. Te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum Imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adjuvabo, et tibi versus, quos rogas, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας mittam. Sed heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Cæsar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante: et prima sic, ut neget, se ne Græca quidem meliora legisse. Reliqua ad quemdam locum ῥᾳθυμότερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum, aut χαρακτὴρ non delectat? Nihil est, quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re φιλαλήθως, et, ut soles, scribe fraterne.

Lib. III. Ep. 1, ad eund.

De Britannicis rebus, cognovi ex tuis litteris, nihil esse, nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus.

Poëma ad Cæsarem, quod composueram, incidi. Tibi quod rogas, quoniam ipsi fontes jam sitiunt, si quid habebo spatii, scribam. Venio ad tertiam. Balbum quod ais mature Romam bene comitatum esse venturum mecumque assidue usque ad Id. Maias futurum, id mihi pergratum perque jucundum erit. Quod me in eadem epistola, sicut sæpe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem; faciam equidem: sed quando vivemus? Quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Sept., quam a. d. IV. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. In ea nihil sane erat novi, præter Erigonam:

quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te, quid sentiam: nec dubito, quin mihi placitura sit.

Ex Britannia Cæsar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras: quas ego accepi a. d. IV. Kalend. Octobr. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus: quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit, se sine te fuisse, quum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem caussa, propter ejus luctum. Te oro etiam atque etiam, mi frater, ut valeas.

Epist. ad Atticum.—Lib. IV. Ep. XVII.

Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi a. d. IX. Kalend. Novemb. litteras, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britanniæ, proximo a. d. VI. Kalend. Octob. Exercitum Britannia reportabant. Q. Pilius erat jam ad Cæsarem profectus.

Epist. ad Diversos.—Lib. VII. Ep. V. Cæsari Imper.

Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium, atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. Hunc, mi Cæsar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia, quæ per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis, in unam hunc conferas; de quo tibi homine hæc spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod, cum ad te de Milone scripsissem, jure lusisti: sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur; probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiaritatem ducit in jure civili singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum, neque præfecturum, neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto: benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto: neque impedio, quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolæ insignibus. totum denique hominem tibi ita trado de manu

(ut aiunt) in manum tuam istam, et victoria et fide præstantem. Simus enim putidiusculi, quam per te vix licet: verum, ut video, licebit. Cura, ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama.

Ib. Ep. VI., ad Trebatium.

Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris, caveto: et, quando Medeam agere cœpi, illud semper memento, "Qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit, nequidquam sapit." Cura ut valeas.

Ep. VII., ad eund.

Ego te commendare non desisto: sed, quid proficiam, ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo: ad quem de te diligentissime et sæpissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me toties accipere tuas litteras, quoties a Quinto mihi fratre afferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri, neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen assequi, quod volumus, possumus; perfice, ut sis in familiaribus Cæsaris.

Ep. VIII., ad eund.

Scripsit ad me Cæsar perhumaniter, nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certe fore: cui quidem ego rescripsi, quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studii, officii, liberalitatis suæ contulisset. . . . Ego vestras litteras Britannicas exspecto. Vale.

Ep. X., ad eund.

Legi tuas litteras: ex quibus intellexi, te Cæsari nostro valde jureconsultum videri. Est quod gaudeas, te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quodsi in Britanniam quoque profectus esses: profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verumtamen (rideamus, licet: sum

enim a te invitatus); subinvideo tibi, ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo, ad quem ceteri, non propter superbiam ejus, sed propter occupationem, adspirare non possunt. Sed tu in ista epistola nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus: quæ mehercule mihi non minori curæ sunt, quam meæ. Valde metuo, ne frigeas in hibernis. Quamobrem camino luculento utendum censeo: idem Mucio et Manilio placebat: præsertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio. Quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior, quam in advocationibus; qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne Andabata quidem defraudare poteramus.

Ep. XI., ad eund.

Mira persona induci potest Britannici jurisconsulti.

Ep. XVII., ad eund.

In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de rebus illis non audiam.

De Natura Deorum, 2. XXXIV.

Quod si in Scythiam, aut in Britanniam, sphæram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, cujus singulæ conversiones idem efficiunt in sole, et in luna, et in quinque stellis errantibus, quod efficitur in cœlo singulis diebus et noctibus: quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea sphæra sit perfecta ratione?

Ib. 3. X.

Quid? Æstusmaritimi, vel Hispanienses, vel Britannici, eorumque certis temporibus vel accessus, vel recessus, sine deo fieri nonne possunt?

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

(BORN 99 B. C.; PUT TO DEATH 44 B. C.)

De Bello Gallico, Lib. II. c. 4.

QUUM ab legatis Rhemorum quæreret, quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic repe-riebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos, Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum, omnia se habere explorata Rhemi dicebant; propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos, et virtute, et auctoritate, et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata millia centum; pollicitos ex eo numero electa millia LX., totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessones suos esse finitimos: latissimos, feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum; qui quum magnæ partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniæ, imperium obtinuerit.

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c. 14.

Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discessum Belgarum, dimissis Æduorum copiis, ad eum reverterat) facit verba: "Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis "Æduæ fuisse: impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent "Æduos a Cæsare in servitutem redactos, omnes indigni-"tates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Æduis defecisse, et

" populo R. bellum intulisse. Qui hujus consilii principes
" fuissent, quod intelligerent quantam calamitatem civitati
" intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse."

Lib. III. c. 7–9.

7. His rebus gestis, quum omnibus de caussis Cæsar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire, et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli hæc fuit caussa. P. Crassus adolescens cum legione VII. proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemabat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, præfectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates, frumenti commeatusque petendi caussa, dimisit: quo in numero erat T. Terrasidius missus in Eusubios; M. Trebius Gallus, in Curiosolitas; Q. Velanius cum T. Silio, in Venetos.

8. Hujus civitatis est longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum; quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consueverunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum cæteros antecedunt; et in magno impetu maris, atque aperto, paucis portubus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eodem mari uti consueverunt, habent vectigales. Ab iis fuit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti, (ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia) eadem de caussa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent: et celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil, nisi communi consilio, acturos, eundemque omnis fortunæ exitum esse laturos; reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre, mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sen-

tentiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt: Si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Cæsar a Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius: naves interim longas dificari in flumine Ligeri, quod influit Oceanum, remiges ex Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, quum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti reliquæque item civitates, cognito Cæsaris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intelligebant, legatos, quod nomen apud omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos abs se et in vincula conjectos: pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime ea quæ ad usum navium pertinerent providere instituunt, hoc majore spe quod multum natura loci confidebant: pedestria esse itinera concisa æstuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum, sciebant: neque nostros exercitus, propter frumenti inopiam, diutius apud se morari posse confidebant . . . . Ac jam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse: Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse: ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari, atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano, perspiciebant. His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant: naves in Venetiam, ubi Cæsarem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quamplurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexobios, Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt. Auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, accersunt.

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c. 13.

Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ, armataeque erant: carinæ aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum

navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent: proræ admodum erectæ, atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatæ. Naves totæ factæ ex robore, ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra ex pedalibus in latitudinem trabibus, confixa clavis ferreis, digiti pollicis crassitudine: anchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ: pelles pro velis, alutæque, tenuiter confectæ; sive propter lini inopiam, atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani, tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri, ac tanta onera navium regi velis, non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostræ classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum præstaret; reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora: neque enim his nostræ rostro nocere poterant, (tanta in his erat firmitudo) neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur: et eadem de caussa minus incommode scopulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut quum sævire ventus cœpisset, et se vento dedissent; et tempestatum ferrent facilius, et in vadis consisterent tutius, et, ab æstu derelictæ, nihil saxa et cautes timerent: quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erant extimescendi.

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c. 16.

Quo prælio bellum Venetorum, totiusque oræ maritimæ, confectum est. Nam quum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris ætatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant; tum navium quod ubique fuerat, unum in locum coëgerant: quibus amissis, reliqui neque quo se reciperant, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent, habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Cæsari dediderunt; in quos eo gravius Cæsar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

(55 B. C.)

Lib. IV. c. 20—38.

20. Exigua parte æstatis reliqua, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septemtrionem vergit, maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit; quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset; genus hominum perspexisset; loca, portus, aditus cognovisset: quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere, præter mercatores, illo adit quisquam; neque iis ipsis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Galliam, notum est. Itaque, convocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulæ magnitudo, neque quæ, aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad hæc cognoscenda, prius quam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, C. Volusenum cum navi longa præmittit. Huic mandat ut, exploratis omnibus rebus, ad se quamprimum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus, et, quam superiore æstate ad Veneticum bellum fecerat classem, jubet convenire. Interim, consilio ejus cognito, et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus ejus insulæ civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare, atque imperio populi Rom. obtemperare. Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatusque ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remisit: et cum his una Comium, quem ipse, Atrebatibus superatis, regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et

consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in his regionibus magna habebatur, mittit: huic imperat, quas possit, adeat civitates, horteturque ut populi R. fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi, ac se barbaris committere non auderet, v. die ad Cæsarem revertitur, quæque ibi perspexisset, renuntiat.

22. Dum in his locis Cæsar, navium parandarum caussa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent; quod homines barbari, et nostræ consuetudinis imperiti, bellum populo R. fecissent; seque ea quæ imperasset facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi satis opportune Cæsar accidisse arbitratus; quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi, propter anni tempus, facultatem habebat; neque has tantularum rerum occupationes sibi Britanniæ anteponendas judicabat: magnum his numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recepit. Navibus circiter LXXX. onerariis coactis contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas legiones transportandas existimabat; quidquid præterea navium longarum habebat, quæstori, legatis, præfectisque distribuit: huc accedebant XVIII. onerariæ naves, quæ ex eo loco millibus passuum VIII. vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent: has equitibus distribuit, reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino, et L. Aurunculeio Cottæ, legatis, in Menapios, atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, deducendum dedit: P. Sulpitium Rufum legatum cum eo præsidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, ac se sequi jussit: ab quibus cum paullo tardius esset administratum,

ipse hora diei circiter IV. cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit: atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias firmatas conspexit. Cujus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad horam IX. in anchoris exspectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognovisset, et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit: monuitque ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut res maritimæ postularent (ut quæ celerem atque instabilem motum haberent), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum, et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo, et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum VIII. ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, præmisso equitatu, et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in prœliis uti consueverunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has caussas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem, nisi in alto constitui non poterant: militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum pressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum, et fluctibus consistendum, et cum hostibus erat pugnandum; quum illi aut ex arido, aut paullulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expediti, notissimis locis, tela audacter conjicerent, et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnæ imperiti, non omnes eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti prœliis consueverant, utebantur.

25. Quod ubi Cæsar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior, et motus ad usum expeditior, paullulum removeri ab onerariis navibus, et remis incitari, et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde

fundis, tormentis, sagittis, hostes propelli, ac submoveri jussit: quæ res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura, et remorum motu, et inusitato genere tormentorum, permoti barbari constiterunt, ac paullum modo pedem retulerunt. Ac, nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui x. legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus Deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: "Desilite, inquit, milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere; ego certe meum Reip. atque Imperatori officium præstitero." Hoc quum magna voce dixisset, se ex navi projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre cœpit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desilierunt. Hos item alii ex proximis navibus quum conspexissent, subsecuti, hostibus appropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare, neque firmiter insistere, neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscumque signis occurreret, se aggregabat, magnopere perturbabantur. Hostes vero, notes omnibus vadis, ubi ex littore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis, impeditos adoriebantur. Plures paucos circumsistebant: alii ab latere aperto in universos tela conjiciebant. Quod quum animadvertisset Cæsar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit; et quos laborantes conspexerat, iis subsidia submittebat. Nostri simul atque in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes impetum fecerunt, atque eos in fugam dederunt: neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere, atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cæsari defuit.

27. Hostes prœlio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Cæsarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturos, quæque imperasset sese facturos polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Comius Atrebas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Cæsare in Britanniam præmissum:

hunc illi e navi egressum, quum ad eos Imperatoris mandata perferret, comprehenderant, atque in vincula conjecerant. Tunc facto prœlio remiserunt, et in petenda pace, ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam, ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Cæsar questus, quod quum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem a se petissent, bellum sine caussa intulisset, ignoscere imprudentiæ dixit, obsidesque imperavit: quorum illi partem statim dederunt; partem ex longinquioribus locis accersitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt; principesque undique convenere, et se civitatesque suas Cæsari commendarunt.

28. His rebus pace firmata, post diem IV. quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII., de quibus supra demonstratum est, quæ equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quæ quum appropinquarent Britanniæ, et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coörta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliæ eodem unde erant profectæ, referrentur; aliæ ad inferiorem partem insulæ, quæ est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur. Quæ tamen, anchoris jactis, cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectæ, continentem petiverunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, quæ dies maritimos æstus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit: nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Cæsar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, æstus complebat: et onerarias, quæ ad anchoras erant deligatæ, tempestas afflictabat: neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi, aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquæ quum essent funibus, anchoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis, ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. Neque enim naves erant aliæ, quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant quæ

ad reficiendas naves essent usui; et quod omnibus constabat hiemare in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniæ, qui post prœlium ad ea, quæ jusserat Cæsar, facienda convenerant, inter se collocuti; quum equites, et naves, et frumentum Romanis deesse intelligerent, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent; quæ hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Cæsar legiones transportaverat; optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento, commeatuque nostros prohibere, et rem in hiemem producere: quod his superatis, aut reditu interclusis, neminem postea belli inferendi caussa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant.

31. Itaque rursus conjuratione facta, paullatim ex castris discedere, ac suos clam ex agris deducere cœperunt. At Cæsar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum, et ex eo quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id quod accidit suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat. Nam et frumentum ex agris in castra quotidie conferebat; et quæ gravissime afflictæ erant naves, earum materia atque ære ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur: et quæ ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque quum id summo studio a militibus administraretur, XII. navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione, ex consuetudine, una frumentatum missa, quæ appellabatur VII., neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, quum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret; ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Cæsari renuntiaverunt, pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Cæsar, id quod erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii: cohortes, quæ in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci,

duas in stationem succedere, reliquas armari, et confestim se subsequi jussit. Quum paullo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque ægrè sustinere, et, conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conjici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, una pars erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delituerant. Tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverunt: simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederunt.

33. Genus hoc est essedis pugnæ: primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt: atque ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant: et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuavere, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus prœliantur. Aurigæ interim paullum e prœlio excedunt, atque ita se collocant, ut si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in prœliis præstant: ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi ac præcipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in curros citissimè recipere, consueverint.

34. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnæ, tempore opportunissimo Cæsar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri ex timore se receperunt. Quo facto, ad lacessendum hostem, et committendum prœlium, alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuit, et, brevi tempore intermisso, in castra legiones reduxit. Dum hæc geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui, discesserunt. Secutæ sunt continuos dies complures tempestates, quæ et nostros in castris continerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes demiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis prædicaverunt; et quanta prædæ

faciendæ, atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

35. Cæsar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent; tamen nactus equites circiter XXX., quos Comius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso prœlio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt: quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt: deinde omnibus longe lateque ædificiis incensis, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Cæsarem de pace venerunt. His Cæsar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit: quod propinqua die æquinoctii, infirmis navibus, hiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat: ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus, paullo post mediam noctem naves solvit. Quæ omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt: ex his onerariæ II. eosdem portus quos reliquæ capere non potuerunt, sed paullo infra delatæ sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus, quum essent expositi milites circiter CCC., atque in castra contenderent; Morini, quos Cæsar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe prædæ adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt: quum illi orbe facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter millia VI. convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata, Cæsar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt, atque amplius horis IV. fortissime pugnaverunt, et paucis vulneribus acceptis, complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes, abjectis

armis, terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Cæsar postero die T. Labienum legatum cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui quum propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent: quo perfugio superiore anno fuerant usi; omnes fere in potestatem Labieni venerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, ædificiisque incensis; quod Menapii omnes se in densissimas silvas abdiderant, ad Cæsarem se receperunt. Cæsar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duæ omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt: reliquæ neglexerunt. His rebus gestis, ex litteris Cæsaris dierum XX. supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

(54 B.C.)

Lib. v. c. 1—23.

1. Lucio Domitio, Ap. Claudio Coss., discedens ab hibernis Cæsar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere instituerat; legatis imperat, quos legionibus præfecerat, uti quam plurimas possent hieme naves ædificandas, veteresque reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque, paullo facit humiliores, quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus; atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes æstuum, minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat: Ad onera, et ad multitudinem jumentorum transportandam, paullo latiores, quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. Has omnes, actuarias imperat fieri: quam ad rem multum humilitas adjuvat. Ea, quæ sunt usui ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari jubet. Ipse, conventibus citerioris Galliæ peractis; in Illyricum proficiscitur; quod a Pirustis finitimam partem Provinciæ incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo

quum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat; certumque in locum convenire jubet.

2. Circiter DC. ejus generis, cujus supra demonstravimus, naves, et longas XXVIII. invenit constructas; neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possent. Collaudatis militibus, atque iis, qui negotio præfuerant; quid fieri velit, ostendit: Atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet: quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transjectum esse cognoverat, circiter millium passuum XXX. a continenti. Huic rei quod satis esse visum est militum, relinquit: Ipse cum legionibus expeditis IV., et equitibus DCCC., in fines Trevirorum proficiscitur: quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant; Germanosque transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

5. Iis rebus constitutis, Cæsar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit XL. naves, quæ in Belgis factæ erant, tempestate rejectas, cursum tenere non potuisse; atque eodem, unde erant profectæ, relatas: reliquas paratas ad navigandum, atque omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem equitatus totius Galliæ convenit, numero millium IV.; principesque ex omnibus civitatibus. Ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia; reliquos, obsidum loco, secum ducere decreverat; quod, quum ipse abesset, motum Galliæ verebatur.

6. Erat una cum cæteris Dumnorix Æduus, de quo a nobis antea dictum est. Hunc secum ducere in primis constituerat; quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnæ inter Gallos auctoritatis, cognoverat. Accedebat huc, quod jam in concilio Æduorum Dumnorix dixerat, "Sibi a Cæsare regnum civitatis deferri:" Quod dictum Ædui graviter ferebant; neque recusandi, neque deprecandi causa, legatos ad Cæsarem mittere audebant: Id factum ex suis hospitibus Cæsar cognoverat. Ille primo omnibus precibus petere contendit, ut in Gallia relinqueretur; partim, quod insuetus navigandi, mare timeret; par-

tim, quod religionibus sese diceret impediri. Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit; omni spe impetrandi adempta; principes Galliæ sollicitare, sevocare singulos, hortarique cœpit, ut in continenti remanerent; metu territare "non sine causa fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur; id esse consilium Cæsaris, ut quos in conspectu Galliæ interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam transductos necaret." Fidem reliquis interponere; jusjurandum poscere; ut, quod esse ex usu Galliæ intellexissent, communi consilio administrarent. Hæc a compluribus ad Cæsarem deferebantur.

7. Qua re cognita, Cæsar; quod tantum civitati Æduæ dignitatis tribuebat, coërcendum atque deterrendum, quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem statuebat; quod longius ejus amentiam progredi videbat, prospiciendum ne quid sibi ac Reipubl. nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter XXV. in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit; dabat operam ut Dumnorigem in officio contineret; nihilo tamen secius, omnia ejus consilia cognosceret. Tandem idoneam tempestatem nactus, milites equitesque conscendere in naves jubet. Atque impeditis omnium animis, Dumnorix, cum equitibus Æduorum, a castris, insciente Cæsare, domum discedere cœpit. Qua re nunciata; Cæsare, intermissa profectione, atque omnibus rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendem mitti, retrahique, imperat. Si vim faciat, neque pareat; interfici jubet: Nihil hunc, se absente, pro sano facturum arbitratus, qui præsentis imperium neglexisset. Ille autem revocatus, resistere, ac se manu defendere, suorumque fidem implorare cœpit; sæpe clamitans, "Liberum se, liberæque civitatis esse." Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumsistunt, hominemque interficiunt: At Ædui equites ad Cæsarem omnes revertuntur.

8. His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum III. legio-

nibus, et equitum millibus II. relicto, ut portus tueretur, et rei frumentariæ provideret, quæque in Gallia gererentur, cognosceret, et consilium pro tempore et pro re caperet: ipse cum legionibus V., et pari numero equitum, quem in continente reliquerat, ad solis occasum naves solvit, et leni Africo profectus, media circiter nocte vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit: et longius delatus æstu, orta luce, sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus æstus commutationem secutus, remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. Qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis, non intermisso remigandi labore, longarum navium cursum adæquaverunt. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore: neque in eo loco hostis est visus. Sed ut postea Cæsar ex captivis comperit, quum magnæ manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritæ, quæ cum annotinis privatisque quas sui quisque commodi causa fecerat, amplius DCCC. una erant visæ, timore et a littore discesserant, ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

9. Cæsar exposito exercitu, ac loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiæ consedissent, cohortibus X. ad mare relictis, et equitibus CCC., qui præsidio navibus essent, de III. vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus, quod in littore molli atque aperto deligatas ad anchoras relinquebat: et præsidio navibus Q. Atrium præfecit. Ipse noctu progressus millia passuum circiter XII., hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere, et prœlium committere cœperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa jam ante præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi.

Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis VII., testudine facta, et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt, eosque ex silvis expulerunt, paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Cæsar persequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat, et quod magna parte die consumpta, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

10. Postridie ejus diei mane, tripartito milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, persequerentur. Iis aliquantum itineris progressis, quum jam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Q. Atrio ad Cæsarem venerunt, qui nuntiarent, superiore nocte, maxima coorta tempestate, prope omnes naves afflictas, atque in littore ejectas esse, quod neque anchoræ funesque subsisterent, neque nautæ gubernatoresque vim tempestatis pati possent. Itaque ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

11. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar legiones equitatumque revocari atque itinere desistere jubet. Ipse ad naves revertitur: eadem fere quæ ex nuntiis litterisque cognoverat, coram perspicit, sic ut amissis circiter XL. navibus, reliquæ tamen refici posse magno negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus fabros deligit, et ex continenti alios accersiri jubet; Labieno scribit, ut quam plurimas posset, iis legionibus quæ sunt apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse, etsi res erat multæ operæ ac laboris, tamen commodissimum esse statuit, omnes naves subduci, et cum castris una munitione conjungi. In his rebus circiter dies X. consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egregie munitis, easdem copias, quas ante, præsidio navibus reli nquit: ipse eodem, unde redierat, proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, majores undique in eum locum copiæ Britannorum convenerant. Summa imperii bellique administrandi, communi consilio, permissa est Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen

dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX. Huic superiori tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserant; sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni, hunc toti bello imperioque præfecerant.

12. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa, memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgio transierant: qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cœperunt. Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia fere Gallicis consimilia: pecoris magnus numerus: UTUNTUR ÆRE, AUT NUMMO AUREO; AUT ANNULIS FERREIS AD CERTUM PONDUS EXAMINATIS PRO NUMMO. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus; in maritimis ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copia; ære utuntur importato. Materia cujusque generis, ut in Gallia, est, præter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam, et anserem gustare, fas non putant. Hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam: hujus lateris angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia passuum D.; alterum vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem: qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia; sed pari spatio transmissus, atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula quæ appellatur Mona. Complures præterea minores objectæ insulæ existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos XXX. sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percunctationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua mensuris, breviores esse noctes, quam in continente, videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut

fert illorum opinio, DCC. millium passuum. Tertium est contra Septentrionem: cui parti nulla est objecta terra, sed ejus lateris angulus maxime ad Germaniam spectat. Huic millia passuum DCCC. in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centena millia passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt: quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem: atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna adspectu: capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis. Sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, a quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ sunt.

15. Equites hostium essedariique acriter prœlio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, ita tamen, ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint, atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint. Sed, compluribus interfectis, cupidius insecuti, nonnullus ex suis amiserunt. At illi, intermisso spatio, imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis ejecerunt; impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati, acriter pugnaverunt: duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Cæsare, atque his primis legionum duarum, quum hæ, intermisso perexiguo loci spatio inter se, constitissent; novo genere pugnæ perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime proruperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die Q. Liberius Durus tribunus mil. interficitur: illi, pluribus immissis cohortibus, repelluntur.

16. Toto hoc in genere pugnæ, quum sub oculis omnium ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est, nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent,

neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad hujus generis hostem: equites autem magno cum periculo dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque cederent, et quum paullulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis desilirent, et pedibus dispari prœlio contenderent. Equestris autem prœlii ratio, et cedentibus et insequentibus, par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut nunquam conferti, sed rari, magnisque intervallis prœliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent, integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent.

17. Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus constiterunt, rarique se ostendere, et lentius quam pridie nostros equites prœlio lacessere cœperunt. Sed meridie, quum Cæsar pabulandi caussa III. legiones atque omnem equitatem cum C. Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, sic uti ab signis legionibusque non absisterent. Nostri acriter in eos impetu facto, repulerunt neque finem insequendi fecerunt, quoad subsidio confisi equites, quum post se legiones viderent, præcipites hostes egerunt; magnoque eorum numero interfecto neque sui colligendi, neque consistendi, aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga protinus, quæ undique convenerant, auxilia discesserunt: neque post id tempus unquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt.

18. Cæsar, cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit: quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre, transiri potest. Eo quum venisset, animadvertit ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas. Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita: ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixæ sudes flumine tegebantur. Iis rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque, Cæsar, præmisso equitatu, confestim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed ea celeritate atque impetu milites ierunt, quum capite solo ex aqua extarent, ut hostes

impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent, ripasque demitterent, ac se fugæ mandarent.

19. Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni spe deposita contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, millibus circiter IV. essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat, paullulumque ex via excedebat, locisque impeditis atque silvestribus sese occultabat, atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat: et quum equitatus noster liberius, vastandi prædandique caussa, se in agros effunderet, omnibus viis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat, et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum, cum iis confligebat; atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur, ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur; et tantum in agris vastandis, incendiisque faciendis, hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

20. Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubratius adolescens, Cæsaris fidem secutus, ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat, (cujus pater Immanuentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat, interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat) legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt, pollicenturque sese ei dedituros et imperata facturos: petunt, ut Mandubratium ab injuria Cassivellauni defendat, atque in civitatem mittat, qui præsit, imperiumque obtineat. His Cæsar imperat obsides XL., frumentumque exercitui; Mandubratiumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt: obsides ad numerum, frumentumque miserunt.

21. Trinobantibus defensis, atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi, legationibus missis, sese Cæsari dediderunt. Ab his cognoscit, non longe ex loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt,

quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ caussa, convenire consueverunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum: tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes paullisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt, seseque ex alia parte oppidi ejecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22. Dum hæc in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus IV. reges præerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuntios mittit; atque his imperat, ut, coactis omnibus copiis, castra navalia de improviso adoriantur, atque oppugnent. Hi quum ad castra venissent nostri, eruptione facta, multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Cingetorige, suos incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus, hoc prœlio nuntiato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Comium de deditione ad Cæsarem mittit. Cæsar, quum statuisset hiemem in continente propter repentinos Galliæ motus agere, neque multum æstatis superesset, atque id facile extrahi posse intelligeret, obsides imperat: et quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo R. Britannia penderet, constituit. Interdicit atque imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio, neu Trinobantibus noceat.

23. Obsidibus acceptis exercitum reducit ad mare, naves invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat, et nonnullæ tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus exercitum reportare constituit. Ac sic accidit, ut ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis, quæ milites portaret, desideraretur: at ex iis, quæ inanes ex continente ad eum remitterentur, et prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX., perpaucæ locum caperent, reliquæ fere omnes rejicerentur. Quas cum aliquandiu Cæsar frustra expectasset, ne anni tempore navigatione excluderetur, quod

æquinoctium suberat, necessario angustius milites collocavit: ac summam tranquillitatem consecutus, secunda inita quum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit, omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

Lib. VI. c. 12, 13.

In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebs pene servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet, et nulli adhibetur concilio. Plerique quum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus, alterum est Druidum, alterum Equitum.

Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt: et si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt; præmia pœnasque constituunt. Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si quis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur: nonnunquam etiam de principatu armis contendunt. Ii certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique qui controversias habent, conveniunt, eorumque judiciis decre-

tisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiscuntur.

Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt: militiæ vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a propinquis parentibusque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent: neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur: quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint: neque eos qui discunt, litteris confisos, minus memoriæ studere. Quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio litterarum, diligentiam in perdiscendo, ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti transdunt.

Lib. VII. c. 75, 76.

Dum hæc ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli, concilio principum indicto, non omnes qui arma ferre possent, (ut censuit Vercingetorix) convocandos statuunt; sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum: ne tanta multitudine confusa, nec moderari, nec discernere suos, nec frumentandi rationem habere possent.

76. Hujus opera Comii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Cæsar: pro quibus meritis civitatem ejus immunem esse jusserat; jura legesque reddiderat; atque ipsi Morinos

attribuerat. Tanta tamen universæ Galliæ consensio fuit libertatis vindicandæ, et pristinæ belli laudis recuperandæ, ut neque beneficiis, neque amicitiæ memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent; coactis equitum VIII. millibus, et peditum circiter CCXL.

De Bello Civili, Lib. I. c. 54.

Quum in his angustiis res esset; atque omnes viæ ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque obsiderentur; nec pontes perfici possent; imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cujus generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniæ docuerat. Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant: reliquum corpus navium, viminibus contextum, coriis integebatur. Has perfectas carris junctis devehit noctu millia passuum a castris XXII.; militesque his navibus flumen transportat continentemque ripæ collem improviso occupat.

M. T. CICERO.

Epist. ad Atticum. Lib. IV. Ep. 16.

BRITANNICI belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illâ insulâ, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te litteris, aut musicis eruditos expectare.

CAIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS.

(BORN 88 B. C.; DIED 46 B. C.)

Carmen XI. vers. 1—16. Ad Furium et Aurelium.

FURI et Aureli, comites Catulli,
Sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
Litus ut longe resonante Eoa
Tunditur unda;

Sive in Hyrcanos, Arabesque molles,
Seu Sacas, sagittiferosque Parthos,
Sive qua septemgeminus colorat
    Æquora Nilus ;
Sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Cæsaris visens monumenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum, horribilesque ulti-
    mosque Britannos :
Omnia hæc, quæcunque feret voluntas
Cœlitum, tentare simul parati,
Pauca nuntiate meæ puellæ
    Non bona dicta.

Carmen XXIX. In Cæsarem.

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,
Nisi impudicus, et vorax, et aleo,
Mamurram habere, quod Comata Gallia
Habebat uncti, et ultima Britannia ?
Cinæde Romule, hæc videbis et feres ?
Es impudicus, et vorax, et aleo.
Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens
Perambulabit omnium cubilia,
Ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus ?
Cinæde Romule, hæc videbis et feres ?
Es impudicus, et vorax, et aleo.
Eone nomine, imperator unice,
Fuisti in ultima occidentis insula,
Ut ista vostra diffututa mentula
Ducenties comesset aut trecenties ?
Quid est aliud ? Sinistra liberalitas
Parum expatravit ? an parum helluatus est ?
Paterna prima lancinata sunt bona :
Secunda præda Pontica : inde tertia
Ibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus.
Hunc, Galliæ, timetis, et Britanniæ ?

Quid hunc, malum, fovetis? aut quid hic potest.
Nisi uncta devorare patrimonia?
Eone nomine, imperator unice,
Socer generque perdidistis omnia?

Carm. XLV. vers. 31, 32.

Unam Septimius misellus Acmen
Mavult, quam Syrias Britanniasque.

ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

(BORN 56 B. C.; DIED 20 A. D.)

Lib. IV. Carm. I. vers. 1—176.

Te, Messala, canam; quamquam me cognita virtus
Terret, ut infirmæ valeant subsistere vires;
Incipiam tamen; at meritas si carmina laudes
Deficiant, humilis tantis sim conditor actis,
Nec tua, præter te, chartis intexere quisquam
Facta queat, dictis ut non majora supersint:
Est nobis voluisse satis; nec munera parva
Respueris. . . . . .

Nam seu diversi fremat inconstantia vulgi,
Non alius sedare queat; seu judicis ira
Sit placanda, tuis poterit mitescere verbis.

. . . . . .

Jam te non alius belli tenet aptius artes:
Qua deceat tutam castris præducere fossam;
Qualiter adversos hosti defigere cervos;
Quemve locum ducto melius sit claudere vallo,
Fontibus ut dulces erumpat terra liquores,
Ut facilisque tuis aditus sit, et arduus hosti,
Laudis et assiduo vigeat certamine miles.

. . . . . .

Te duce non alias conversus terga domator
Libera Romanæ subjecit colla catenæ.
Nec tamen his contentus eris : majora peractis
Instant, compertum est veracibus ut mihi signis.

. . . . . .

Quin hortante deo magnis insistere rebus
Incipe ; non iidem tibi sint aliisque triumphi.
Non te vicino remorabitur obvia Marte
Gallia, nec latis audax Hispania terris,
Nec fera Theræo tellus obsessa colono,
Nec qua vel Nilus, vel regia lympha Choaspes
Profluit, aut rapidus, Cyri dementia, Gyndes
Radit Arectæos haud una per ostia campos,
Nec qua regna vago Tomyris finivit Araxe,
Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis
(Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva) Padæus,
Quaque Istrus Tanaisque Getas rigat atque Mosynos.
Quid moror? Oceanus ponto qua continet orbem,
Nulla tibi adversis regio sese offeret armis.
Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus,
Teque interjecto mundi pars altera sole.
Nam circumfuso considit in aëre tellus,
Et quinque in partes toto disponitur orbe.
Atque duæ gelido vastantur frigore semper.
Illic et densa tellus absconditur umbra,
Et nulla incepto perlabitur unda liquore,
Sed durata riget densam in glaciemque nivemque ;
Quippe ubi non unquam Titan superingerit ortus.
At media est Phœbi semper subjecta calori,
Seu propior terris æstivum fertur in orbem,
Seu celer hibernas properat decurrere luces.
Non ergo presso tellus exsurgit aratro,
Nec frugem segetes præbent, nec pabula terræ.
Non illic colit arva deus Bacchusve Ceresve,
Nulla nec exustas habitant animalia partes.

Fertilis hanc inter posita est, interque rigentes,
Nostraque, et huic adversa solo pars altera nostro,
Quas utrinque tenens similis vicinia cœli
Temperat, alter et alterius vires necat aër.
Hinc placidus nobis per tempora vertitur annus.
Hinc et colla jugo didicit submittere taurus,
Et lenta excelsos vitis conscendere ramos,
Tondeturque seges maturos annua partus,
Et ferro tellus, pontus confinditur ære.
Quin etiam structis exsurgunt oppida muris.
Ergo, ubi per claros ierint tua facta triumphos,
Solus utroque idem diceris magnus in orbe.

SEXTUS AURELIUS PROPERTIUS.

(BORN 54 B. C.; DIED 14 B. C.)

Lib. II. Eleg. I. vers. 85—87.

Si te forte meo ducet via proxima busto,
Esseda cælatis siste Britanna jugis,
Taliaque inlacrimans mutæ jace verba favillæ:
HUIC MISERO FATUM DURA PUELLA FUIT.

Lib. II. Eleg. XIV. vers. 25, 26.

Nunc etiam infectos demens imitare Britannos,
Ludis et externo tincta nitore caput.

Lib. IV. Eleg. III. vers. 1—45.

Hæc Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotæ,
Quum toties absis, si potes esse meus.
Si qua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita deerit,
Hæc erit e lacrimis facta litura meis.
Aut si qua incerto fallet te litera tractu,
Signa meæ dextræ jam morientis erunt.
Te modo viderunt iteratos Bactraper ortus;
Te modo munito Sericus hostis equo;

Hibernique Getæ: pictoque Britannia curru;
Ustus et eoö decolor Indus equo.

. . . . . .

At mihi quum noctes induxit Vesper amaras,
Si qua relicta jacent, osculor arma tua.
Tum queror, in toto non sidere pallia lecto,
Lucis et auctores non dare carmen aves.
Noctibus hibernis castrensia pensa laboro,
Et Tyria in radios vellera secta suos.
Cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos,
Qualis et hæc docti sit positura dei:
Et disco, qua parte fluat vincendus Araxes,
Quot sine aqua Parthus millia currat equus,
Quæ tellus sit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æstu,
Ventus in Italiam qui bene vela ferat.
Assidet una soror, curis et pallida nutrix
Dejerat hiberni temporis esse moras.
Felix Hippolyte! nuda tulit arma papilla,
Et texit galea barbara molle caput.
Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis!
Essem militiæ sarcina fida tuæ.

PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO.

(BORN 70 B. C.; DIED 19 B. C.)

Bucolica, Eclog. i, vers. 65.

At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros;
Pars Scythiam, et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxen,
Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

Georgicon, lib. iii., ver. 22.

. . . . . Jam nunc solennes ducere pompas
Ad delubra juvat, cæsosque videre juvencos;
Vel scena ut versis discedat frontibus, utque
Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.

(BORN 65 B.C.; DIED 8 A.D.)

Epodon Lib., Ode vii. Ad Populum Romanum.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
  Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis, atque Neptuno super
  Fusum est Latini sanguinis?
Non ut superbus invidæ Carthaginis
  Romanus arces ureret:
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
  Sacra catenatus via:
Sed ut, secundum vota Parthorum, sua
  Urbs hæc periret dextra.

Carm. Lib. i. Ode xxi. In Dianam et Apollinam.

Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus,
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis
  Insignemque pharetra,
    Fraternaque humerum lyra.

Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem,
Pestemque a populo, et principe Cæsare, in
  Persas atque Britannos
    Vestra motus aget prece.

Carm. Lib. i. Ode xxxv. Ad Fortunam.

O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
  Mortale corpus, vel superbos
    Vertere funeribus triumphos:

Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus : te dominam æquoris,
  Quicunque Bithyna lacessit
    Carpathium pelagus carina.

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
  Regumque matres barbarorum, et
    Purpurei metuunt tyranni.

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens
  Examen, Eoïs timendum
    Partibus, Oceanoque rubro.

Carm. Lib. III. Ode V. Augusti Laudes.

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare : præsens divus habebitur
  Augustus, adjectis Britannis
    Imperio, gravibusque Persis.

Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit ? et hostium
  (Proh curia, inverseque mores !)
    Consenuit socerorum in armis

Sub rege Medo, Marsus, et Appulus.
Anciliorum, nominis et togæ
  Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
    Incolumi Jove, et urbe Roma ?

Carm. Lib. IV. Ode XIV. Ad Augustum.

Quæ cura patrum, quæve Quiritium
Plenis honorum muneribus, tuas,
  Auguste, virtutes in ævum
    Per titulos, memoresque fastos

Æternet? O, qua Sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras, maxime principum,
Quem legis expertes Latinæ
Vindelici didicere nuper,

Quid Marte posses. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Te fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque, et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
Te belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,

Te non paventis funera Galliæ,
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ.
Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

TITUS LIVIUS PATAVINUS.

(BORN 57 B. C.; DIED 17 A. D.)

Epitome, Lib. CV.

Cæsar Oceano in Britanniam, primo parum prospere tempestatibus adversis trajecit; iterum parum felicius; magnaque multitudine hostium cæsa; aliquam partem insulæ potestatem redegit.

PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO.

(BORN 43 B. C.; DIED 18 A. D.)

Amorum, Lib. II. 16. Ad Amicam, ut ad sua Rura veniat. Vers. 33.

At sine te, quamvis operosi vitibus agri
Me teneant, quamvis omnibus arva natent
. . . . . .

Non ego Pelignos videor celebrare salubres,
Non ego natalem, rura paterna, locum;
Sed Scythiam, Cilicasque feros, viridesque Britannos,
Quæque Prometheo saxa cruore rubent.

Metamorphoseon, Lib. xv. Vers. 750–834.

Æquoreos plus est domuisse Britannos,
. . . . . .
Quam tantum genuisse virum, quo præside rerum
Humano generi, superi, cavistis abunde.
. . . . . .
Quid tibi Barbariem, gentes ab utroque jacentes
Oceano, numerem? quodcumque habitabile tellus
Sustinet, hujus erit: pontus quoque serviet illi.
Pace data terris, animum ad civilia vertet
Jura suum, legesque feret justissimus auctor:
Exemploque suo mores reget.

DIODORUS SICULUS,

(FROM ABOUT 90 B. C. TO 30 B. C.)

Bibliotheca Historica. Lib. i. c. 5.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑξῆς εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ βίβλοις τὰς λοιπὰς ἁπάσας κατετάξαμεν, μέχρι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ συστάντος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Κελτούς, καθ' ὃν ἡγούμενος Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις προαγορευθεὶς θεός, κατεπολέμησε μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μαχιμώτατα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐθνη, προεβίβασε δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων.

Lib. ii. c. 47.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτους κεκλιμένα μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἠξιώσαμεν ἀναγραφῆς, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων μυθολογούμενα διελθεῖν. Τῶν γὰρ τὰς

παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀναγεγραφότων Ἑκαταῖος καί τινες ἕτεροί φασιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέραν τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας. Ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων, ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρώτερω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς· οὖσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὔγειόν τε καὶ πάμφορον, ἔτι δὲ εὐκρασίᾳ διαφέρουσαν, διττοὺς κατ' ἔτος ἐκφέρειν καρπούς. Μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν Λητὼ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τον Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶσθαι· εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἱερεῖς τινὰς Ἀπόλλωνος, διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑμνεῖσθαι μετ' ᾠδῆς συνεχῶς, καὶ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως· ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τέμενός τε Ἀπόλλωνος μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ ναὸν ἀξιόλογον ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένον, σφαιροειδῆ τῷ σχήματι, καὶ πόλιν [μὲν ὑπάρχειν] ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου· τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων αὐτὴν τοὺς πλείστους εἶναι κιθαριστάς, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κιθαρίζοντας, ὕμνους λέγειν τῷ θεῷ μετ' ᾠδῆς, ἀποσεμνύνοντας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις· ἔχειν δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους ἰδίαν τινὰ διάλεκτον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἰκειότατα διακεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Δηλίους, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων παρειληφότας τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς μυθολογοῦσι παραβαλεῖν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολυτελῆ καταλιπεῖν, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένα. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων Ἄβαριν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταντήσαντα τὸ παλαιὸν, ἀνασῶσαι τὴν πρὸς Δηλίους εὔνοιάν τε καὶ συγγένειαν. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου φαίνεσθαι παντελῶς ὀλίγον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς γῆς, καί τινας ἐξοχὰς γεώδεις ἔχουσαν φανεράς. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν δι' ἐτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα καταντᾷν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄστρων ἀποκαταστάσεις ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἐννεακαιδεκαετῆ χρόνον ὑτὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ταυτὴν τὸν θεὸν κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν συνεχῶς τὰς νύκτας, ἀπὸ ἰσημερίας ἐαρινῆς ἕως πλειάδος ἀνατολῆς, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις

εὐημερήμασι τερπόμενον. Βασιλεύειν τε τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπάρχειν τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Βορεάδας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Βορέου, καὶ κατὰ γένος ἀεὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς.

Lib. v. c. 21 & 22.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ νήσων διήλθομεν, μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν παρωκεανῖτιν, καταντικρὺ τῶν Ἑρκυνίων ὀνομαζομένων δρυμῶν, οὓς μεγίστους ὑπάρχειν παρειλήφαμεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, νῆσοι πολλαὶ κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ὑπάρχουσιν, ὧν ἐστὶ μία καὶ μεγίστη ἡ Βρεττανικὴ καλουμένη. Αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀνεπίμικτος ἐγένετο ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν· (οὔτε γὰρ Διόνυσον, οὔθ' Ἡρακλέα παρειλήφαμεν, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων ἢ δυναστῶν ἐστρατευμένον ἐπ' αὐτήν·) καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Γάϊος Καῖσαρ, ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπονομασθεὶς θεός, πρῶτος τῶν μνημονευομένων ἐχειρώσατο τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς καταπολεμήσας, ἠνάγκασε τελεῖν ὡρισμένους φόρους. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν· περὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου καὶ τοῦ φυομένου κατ' αὐτὴν κασσιτέρου νῦν διέξιμεν. Αὕτη γὰρ τῷ σχήματι τρίγωνος οὖσα παραπλησίως τῇ Σικελίᾳ, τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἰσοκώλους ἔχει. Παρεκτεινούσης δὲ αὐτῆς παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην λοξῆς, τὸ μὲν ἐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διεστηκὸς ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κάντιον, [ὃ] φασὶν ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς λῆς σταδίους ὡς ἑκατόν, καθ' ὃν τόπον ἡ θάλασσα ποιεῖται τὸν ἔκρουν· τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀκρωτήριον, τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον, ἀπέχειν λέγεται τῆς ἠπείρου πλοῦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων· τὸ δ' ὑπολειπόμενον ἀνήκειν μὲν ἱστοροῦσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὀνομαζέσθαι δὲ Ὄρκαν. Τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν τὴν μὲν ἐλαχίστην εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, παρήκουσαν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνήκουσαν, σταδίων μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων· τὴν δὲ λοιπήν, σταδίων δισμυρίων· ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν εἶναι τῆς νήσου περιφορὰν σταδίων τετρακισμυρίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. Κατοικεῖν δέ φασι τὴν Βρετ-

τανικὴν αὐτόχθονα γένη, καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν βίον ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς διατηροῦντα. Ἄρμασι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ κεχρῆσθαι παραδέδονται. Καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκειμένας. Τήν τε συναγωγὴν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ποιοῦνται, τοὺς στάχυς αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνοντες καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς καταστέγους οἰκήσεις· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς παλαιοὺς στάχυς καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ κατεργαζομένους ἔχειν τὴν τροφήν. Τοῖς δὲ ἤθεσιν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένους τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινοίας καὶ πονηρίας· τάς τε δαίτας εὐτελεῖς ἔχειν, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου γεννωμένης τρυφῆς πολὺ διαλλάττοντας. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἔχειν διάθεσιν παντελῶς κατεψυγμένην, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτον κειμένην· βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας πολλοὺς ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰρηνικῶς διακεῖσθαι.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν· νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φυομήνου κασσιτέρου διέξιμεν. Τῆς γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσὶ, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς. Οὗτοι τὸν κασσίτερον κατασκευάζουσι, φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσαν αὐτὸν γῆν. Λύτη δὲ πετρώδης οὖσα, διαφυὰς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πόρον κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. Ἀποτυποῦντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς, κομίζουσιν εἴς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἶκτιν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀναξηραινομένου τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου, ταῖς ἁμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν κασσίτερον. Ἴδιον δέ τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους, τὰς μεταξὺ κειμένας τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς. Κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου πληρουμένου νῆσοι φαίνονται· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀπορρεούσης τῆς

θαλάσσης, καὶ πολὺν τόπον ἀναξηραινούσης, θεωροῦνται χερρόνησοι. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὠνοῦνται, καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὡς τριάκοντα, κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κασσιτέρου τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

Ib. c. 29.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς μάχαις χρῶνται οἱ Γαλάται συνωρίσιν, ἔχοντος τοῦ ἅρματος ἡνίοχον καὶ παραβάτην. Ἀπαντῶντες δὲ τοῖς ἐφιππεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, σαυνιάζουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ καταβάντες εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους συνίστανται μάχην.

Ib. c. 32.

Χρήσιμον δ' ἔστι διορίσαι τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀγνοούμενον. Τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, Κελτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον νεύοντα μέρη, παρά τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑρκύνιον ὄρος καθιδρυμένους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἑξῆς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας, Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη συλλήβδην μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνουσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Γαλάτας ἅπαντας. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐ μόνον τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ἐνάμιλλοι. Τὰ δὲ παιδία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ γενετῆς ὑπάρχει πολιὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον· προβαίνοντες δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις, εἰς τὸ τῶν πατέρων χρῶμα ταῖς χρόαις μετασχηματίζονται. Ἀγριωτάτων δὲ ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ πλησιοχώρων, φασί τινας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰριν. Διαβεβοημένης δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς καὶ ἀγριότητης, φασί τινες ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν καταδραμόντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ Κιμμερίους, τούτους εἶναι,

βραχὺ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν λέξιν φθείραντος ἐν τῇ τῶν καλουμένων Κίμβρων προσηγορίᾳ. Ζηλοῦσι γάρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ λῃστεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἐπερχόμενοι, καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἁπάντων. Οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μὲν Ῥώμην ἑλόντες, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συλήσαντες, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας φορολογήσαντες· καὶ τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων τὴν χώραν κατοικήσαντες· οἱ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιπλοκὴν Ἑλληνογαλάται κληθέντες· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων συντρίψαντες. Ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἀγριότητι, καὶ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι. Τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες, ἀνασκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες.

Ib. c. 38.

Οἱ δ' οἷν ταῖς ἐργασίαις τῶν μετάλλων ἐνδιατρίβοντες, τοῖς μὲν κυρίοις ἀπίστους τοῖς πλήθεσι προσόδους περιποιοῦσιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ γῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀρύγμασι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα καταξαινόμενοι τὰ σώματα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀποθνήσκουσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθείας· (ἄνεσις γὰρ ἢ παῦλα τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἐπιστατῶν πληγαῖς, ἀναγκαζόντων ὑπομένειν τὴν δεινότητα τῶν κακῶν, ἀτυχῶς προΐενται τὸ ζῆν·) τινὲς δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ψυχῶν καρτερίαις ὑπομένοντες, πολὺν χρόνον ἔχουσι τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. Αἱρετώτερος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θάνατός ἐστι τοῦ ζῆν, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων περὶ τὰς προειρημένας μετελλείας παραδόξων, οὐχ ἥκιστ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε, διότι τῶν μεταλλουργείων οὐδὲν πρόσφατον ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν, πάντα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων φιλαργυρίας ἀνεῴχθη, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπεκράτουν. Ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσχον τὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὔξησιν, μισθούμενοι τοὺς κρατίστους στρατιώτας, καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους διαπολεμήσαντες. Καθόλου γὰρ ἀεὶ Καρχηδόνιοι διεπολέμουν, οὔτε πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις οὔτε

τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροιζομένοις πεποιθότες· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σικελιώτας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην κατοικοῦντας εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἦγον κινδύνους, καταπλουτομακοῦντες ἅπαντας διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων γινομένην εὐπορίαν. Δεινοὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων εἰς τὸ κέρδος εὑρεῖν· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταλιπεῖν. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κασσίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβερίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὑρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλλήκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος [καὶ χωνευόμενος] ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ. Ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας ἐστὶ μέταλλα πολλὰ τοῦ κασσιτέρου, κατὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ Ὠκεανῷ νησῖδας, τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Κασσιτερίδας ὠνομασμένας. Πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν καταντικρὺ κειμένην Γαλατίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἐφ' ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρά τε τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ναρβῶνα. Αὕτη δ' ἔστιν ἄποικος μὲν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν μέγιστον ἐμπόριον ἔχουσα τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις.

Diodori Sic. Fragmenta.

[From the Edition of L. Dindorf. Leipsic, 1831, vol. III. p. 211.]

Τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ἥκιστα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίγνωσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μεν τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμένων μερῶν τῆς οἰκούμενης τῶν συναπτόντων τῇ δια ψῦχος ἀοικήτῳ διέξιμεν ὅταν τὰς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἀναγράφωμεν πράξεις. οὗτος γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη πορρώτατω προβιβάσας πάντα τὸν πρότερον ἀγνοομενον τόπον ἐποιησε πεσεῖν εἰς σύνταξιν ἱστόριας.

DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES.

(20 B. C.)

Periegesis, l. 280—293.

[Εὐρωπείης] πυμάτην μὲν ὑπὸ γλωχῖνα νέμονται,
Ἀγχοῦ στηλάων, μεγαθύμων ἔθνος Ἰβήρων,
Μῆκος ἐπ' ἠπείροιο τετραμμένον, ᾗχι βορείου
Ὠκεανοῦ κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος· ἔνθα Βρετανοὶ,
Λευκά τε φῦλα νέμονται ἀρειμανέων Γερμανῶν,
Ἑρκυνίου δρυμοῖο παραθρώσκοντες ὀρόγκους.
Ἤπειρον κείνην ἰκέλην ἐνέπουσι βοείῃ.
Τοῖς δ' ἔπι, Πυρρήναιον ὄρος καὶ δώματα Κελτῶν,
Ἀγχόθι πηγάων καλλιῤῥόου Ἠριδανοῖο·
Οὗ ποτ' ἐπὶ προχοῇσιν, ἐρημαίην ἀνὰ νύκτα
Ἠλιάδες κώκυσσεν, ὀδυρόμεναι Φαέθοντα.
Κεῖθι δὲ Κελτῶν παῖδες ὑφήμενοι αἰγείροισι
Δάκρυ ἀμέργονται χρυσαυγέος ἠλέκτροιο.

l. 561—590.

. . . . αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἄκρην
Ἰρὴν ἣν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμεν Εὐρωπείης,
Νήσους Θ' Ἑσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη,
Ἄφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.
Ἄλλαι δ' Ὠκεανοῖο παραὶ βορεώτιδας ἀκτὰς
Δισσαὶ νῆσοι ἔασι Βρετανίδες ἀντία Ῥήνου·
Κεῖθι γὰρ ὑστατίην ἀπερεύγεται εἰς ἅλα δίνην.
Ταών τοι μέγεθος περιώσιον· οὐδέ τις ἄλλη
Νήσοις ἐν πάσῃσι Βρετανίσιν ἰσοφαρίζει.
Ἄγχι δὲ, νησιάδων ἕτερος πόρος, ἔνθα γυναῖκες
Ἀνδρῶν ἀντὶ πέρηθεν ἀγαυῶν Ἀμνιτάων
Ὀρνύμεναι τελέουσι κατὰ νόμον ἱερὰ Βάκχῳ,
Στεφάμεναι κισσοῖο μελαμφύλλοιο κορύμβοις,
Ἐννύχιαι· παταγῆς δὲ λιγυθρόος ὄρνυται ἠχή.

Οὐχ ὕυτω Θρήϊκος ἐπ᾽ ηόσιν Ἀψίνθοιο
Βιστονίδες καλέουσιν ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην,
Οὐδ᾽ ὕυτω σὺν παισὶ μελανδίνην ἀνὰ Γάγγην
Ἰνδοὶ κῶμον ἄγουσιν ἐριβρεμέτῃ Διονύσῳ,
Ὡς κείνον κατὰ χῶρον ἀνευάζουσι γυναῖκες.
Πολλὴν δὲ προτέρωσε ταμὼν ὁδὸν Ὠκεανοῖο,
Νῆσόν κεν Θούλην ἐνεργέϊ νηΐ περήσας·
Ἔνθα μὲν ἠελίοιο βεβηκότος ἐς πόλον ἄρκτων,
Ἤμαθ᾽ ὁμοῦ καὶ νύκτας ἀειφανὲς ἐκκέχυται πῦρ.
Λοξοτέρῃ γὰρ τῆμος ἐπιστρέφεται στροφάλιγγι,
Ἀκτίνων ἰθεῖαν ἐπὶ κλίσιν ἐρχομενάων
Μέσφ᾽ ἐπὶ κυανέους νοτίην ὁδὸν αὖτις ἐλάσσῃ.
Ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότεν Σκυθικοῖο βαθὺν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο
Νηΐ τάμῃς, προτέρῳ δὲ πρὸς Ἠῴην ἅλα κάμψῃς,
Χρυσείην τοι νῆσον ἄγει πόρος, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτοῦ
Ἀντολίη καθαροῖο φαείνεται ἠελίοιο.

GRATIUS FALISCUS.

(He flourished about 30 B. C.)

Cynegeticon, vers. 154–193.

Mille canum patriæ, ductique ab origine mores
Cuique sua, magna indocilis dat prælia Medus,
Magnaque diversos extollit gloria Celtas.
Arma negant contra, Martemque odêre Geloni,
Sed natura sagax: Perses in utroque paratus,
Sunt qui Seras alant, genus intractabilis iræ.
. . . . . .
Quid freta si Morinûm, dubio refluentia ponto,
Veneris, atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos?
O quanta est merces, et quantum impendia supra!
Si non ad speciem mentiturosque decores
Protinus; hæc una est catulis jactura Britannos.

At magnum cum venit opus, promendaque virtus,
Et vocat extremo præceps discrimine Mavors,
Non tunc egregios tantum admirere Molossos,
Comparat his versuta suas Athamania fraudes,
Acyrusque, Pheræque, et clandestinus Acarnan.
Idcirco variis miscebo gentibus usum.

THE INSCRIPTION SET UP AT ANCYRA, IN GALATIA, BY AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, TO CELEBRATE HIS OWN ACTIONS.

RERUM GESTARUM DIVI AUGUSTI QUIBUS ORBEM TERRARUM IMPERIO POPULI ROMANI SUBJECIT INCISARUM IN DUABUS AHÆNEIS PILIS QUÆ SUNT ROMÆ POSITÆ, EXEMPLAR SUBJECTUM.

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OMNIUM PROVINCIARUM . . . . . QUIBUS FINIMITÆ FUERUNT GENTES QUÆ (*nondum subjectæ erant populo Romano*) FINES AUXI. GALLIAS ET HISPANIAS PROVINCIAS*que* . . . . *quas alluit* OCEANUS A GADIBUS AD OSTIUM ALBIS FLUMINIS . . . . . *ab usque regi*ONE EA QUÆ PROXIMA EST HADRIANO MARI . . . . *armis perlustravi*, NULLO GENTI BELLO PER INJURIAM ILLATO. *Classis Romana* . . . . AB OSTIO RHENI AD SOLIS ORIENTIS REGIONEM USQUE AD *orbis extrema* NAVIGAVIT, QUO NEQUE TERRA NEQUE MARI QUISQUAM ROMANORUM ANTE ID TEMPUS ADIT. CIMBRIQUE ET CHARIIDES ET SEMNONES ET EJUSDEM TRACTUS ALII GERMANORUM POPULI PER LEGATOS AMICITIAM MEAM ET POPULI ROMANI PETIERUNT.

BRITANN . . . . . DAMNO BELLA . . . . . ET TIMO . . . ORUM MAELO . . . MAR . . . OMANORUM . . . SUEBO.

REX PARTHORUM PHRATES ORODIS FILIUS FILIOS SUOS NEPO*tesque misit* IN ITALIAM, NON BELLO SUPERATUS, SED AMICITIAM NOSTRAM PER HÆC SUORUM PIGNORA PETENS,

PLURIMÆQUE ALIÆ GENTES EXPERTÆ *sunt* *Romanam* FIDEM ME PRINCIPE QUIBUS ANTEA CUM POPULO ROMANO *nullum omnino* fuit *l*EGATIONUM ET AMICITIÆ COMMERCIUM.

STRABO.

(20 B. C. TO 40 A. D.)

Geographia, Lib. I., c. iii.

22. Ἐπάνιμεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἀφ' ὧν παρέβημεν. Τοῦ γὰρ Ἡροδότου μηδένας Ὑπερβορείους εἶναι φήταντος, μηδὲ γὰρ Ὑπερνοτίους λέγοιαν, φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ὁμοίαν ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης τῷ σοφίσματιτ οὑτῳ, εἴ τις λέγοι μηδένας εἶναι ἐπιχαιρεκάκους, μηδὲ γὰρ ἐπιχειραγάθους· κατὰ τύχην τὲ εἶναι καὶ Ὑπερνοτίους· κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν μὴ πνεῖν νότον, ἀλλὰ κατωτέρω. Θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα πνέοντος ἀνέμου, καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας νότου προσαγορευομένου, ἔστι τὶς οἴκησις, ἐν ᾗ τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει. Τοὐναντίον γὰρ οὐ μόνον Αἰθιοπία ἔχοι ἂν τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς νότον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀνωτέρω πᾶσα μέχρι τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ. Εἰδ' ἄρα, τοῦ Ἡροδότου, τοῦτ' ἐχρῆν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους τούτους ὑπέλαβε λέγεσθαι, παρ' οἷς ὁ Βορέας οὐ πνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἱ ποιηταὶ μυθικώτερον οὕτω φασὶν, οἵ γ' ἐξηγούμενοι, τὸ ὑγιὲς ἂν ἀκούσαιεν, Ὑπερβορείους τοὺς βορειοτάτους φασὶ λέγεσθαι· ὅρος δὲ τῶν μὲν βορείων ὁ πόλος, τῶν δὲ νοτίων ὁ ἰσημερινὸς, καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος.

23. Ἑξῆς δὲ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φανερῶς πεπλασμένα καὶ ἀδύνατα λέγοντας τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν μύθου σχήματι, τὰ δ' ἱστορίας, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον μεμνῆσθαι· οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἐχρῆν ἐν ὑποθέσει τοιαύτῃ φλυάρους ἐπὶ σκοπεῖν· ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη διέξοδος αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τοιαύτη.

Ib. c. iv.

1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πειρᾶται διόρθωσίν τινα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γεωγραφίας, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει ὑπολήψεις· πρὸς ἃς πάλιν εἰ ἔστι τις ἐπανόρθωσις, πειρατέον προσφέρειν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν

τὰς μαθηματικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἄγειν καὶ φυσικὰς εὖ λέγεται· καὶ ὅτι εἰ σφαιροειδὴς ἡ γῆ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κόσμος περιοικεῖται, καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. Εἰ δὲ τηλικαύτη, ἡλίκην αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν· οἱ ὕστερον, δ' ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν· ὅμως δὲ πρὸς τὴν σημείωσιν τῶν κατὰ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἑκάστας φαινομένων προσχρῆται τοῖς διαστήμασιν ἐκείνοις. Ἵππαρχος, ἐπὶ τοῦ διὰ Μερόης καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Βορυσθένους μεσημβρινοῦ, μικρὸν παραλλάττειν φήσας παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος δ' ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς διὰ πλειόνων· καὶ δεικνὺς, ὅτι σφαιροειδὴς καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν τῇ ὑγρᾷ φύσει, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς, ἀλλοτριολογεῖν ἂν δόξειεν· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ μικρὸν.

2. Ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζων φησὶν, ἀπὸ μὲν Μερόης ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ μέχρι Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶναι μυρίους· ἔνθενδὲ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἑκατὸν, εἶτ' εἰς Βορυσθένη πεντακισχιλίους, εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης (ἣν φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρετανικῆς ἓξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης) ἄλλους ὡς μυρίους χιλίους πεντακοσίους. Ἐὰν οὖν ἔτι προσθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μερόην ἄλλους τρισχιλίους τετρακοσίους, ἵνα καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νῆσον ἔχωμεν, καὶ τὴν Κινναμωμοφόρον, καὶ τὴν Ταπροβάνην, ἔσεσθαι σταδίους τρισμυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους.

3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διαστήματα δεδόσθω αὐτῷ· ὡμολόγηται γὰρ ἱκανῶς· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Θούλης κύκλον, τίς ἂν δοίη νοῦν ἔχων; ὅ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθέας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξήτασται· καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρετανικὴν καὶ Ἱέρνην ἰδόντες, οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλας νήσους λέγοντες μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρετανικήν. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ Βρεττανικὴ τὸ μῆκος ἴσως πώς ἐστι τῇ Κελτικῇ παρεκτεταμένη, τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων οὐ μείζων, καὶ τοῖς ἄκροις τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἀφοριζομένη. Ἀντίκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τά τε ἑῶα ἄκρα τοῖς ἑώοις, καὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τοῖς ἑσπερίοις· καὶ τά γε ἑῶα ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ μέχρις ἐπόψεως, τό τε Κάντιον, καὶ

αἱ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολαί. Ὁ δὲ πλειόνων ἢ δισμυρίων ἀποφαίνει τὸ μῆκος τῆς νήσου, καὶ τὸ Κάντιον ἡμερῶν τινων πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆς Κελτικῆς φησί. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ὠστιμίους δὲ, καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου τὰ μέχρι Σκυθῶν, πάντα κατέψευσται τῶν τόπων. Ὅστις οὖν περὶ τῶν γνωριζομένων τόπων τοσαῦτα ἔψευσται, σχολῇ γ' ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀληθεύειν δύναιτο.

4. Τὸν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθένους παράλληλον, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ διὰ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς εἰκάζουσιν Ἵππαρχός τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τοῦ τὸι αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν διὰ Βυζαντίου, τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας· ἓν γὰρ λόγον εἴρηκε τοῦ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἵππαρχος κατὰ τὸν ὁμώνυμον καιρὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ φησίν. ἐκ Μασσαλίας δὲ εἰς μέσην τὴν Βρεττανικὴν οὗ πλέον ἐστὶ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Βρεττανικῆς οὐ πλέον τῶν τετρακισχιλίων προελθὼν, εὕροι ἂν οἰκήσιμον ἄλλως πως (τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἰέρνην·) ὥς τε τὰ ἐπέκεινα εἰς ἃ ἐκτοπίζει τὴν Θούλην, οὐκέτ' οἰκήσιμα. τίνι δ' ἂν καὶ στοχασμῷ λέγοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ Θούλης ἕως τοῦ διὰ Βορυσθένους μυρίων καὶ χιλίων πεντακοσίων, οὐχ ὁρῶ.

5. Διαμαρτὼν δὲ τοῦ πλάτους, ἠνάγκασται καὶ τοῦ μήκους ἀστοχεῖν. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τὸ γνώριμον μῆκος ἐστὶ τοῦ γνωρίμου πλάτους, ὁμολόγουσι καὶ οἱ ὕστερον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ χαριέστατοι· λέγω δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰθιόπων ἕως τοῦ κατὰ Ἰέρνην κύκλου.

Ib. Lib. II. c. i.

13. Πάλιν δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν Κινναμωμοφόρον, ἐσχάτην ἴσμεν οἰκουμένην πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, καὶ καθ' Ἵππαρχον αὐτὸν ὁ δι' αὐτῆς παράλληλος ἀρχὴ τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ, καὶ διέχει τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους. Ἐπεὶ οὖν φησὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους διέχειν τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, εἶεν ἂν λοιποὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος τὴν διακεκαυμένην καὶ τὴν

εὔκρατον εἰς τὸν διὰ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς παρωκεανίτιδος στάδιοι δισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι διακόσιοι. Ὁ δέ γε ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον πλοῦς ἔσχατος λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νῦν ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰέρνην, ἐπέκεινα μὲν οὖσαν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ἀθλίως δὲ διὰ ψύχος οἰκουμένην· ὥστε τὰ ἐπέκεινα νομίζειν ἀοίκητα. Οὐ πλέον δὲ τῆς Κελτικῆς τὴν Ἰέρνην διέχειν φασὶ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, ὥστε περὶ τρισμυρίους εἶεν ἂν ἢ μικρῷ πλείους οἱ πάντες οἱ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζοντες.

17. Οἱ δέ γε περὶ Δημάχον, τοῖς τρισμυρίοις ἐὰν προσλάβωσι τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ταπροβάνην καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς διακεκαυμένης, οὓς οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων θετέον, ἐκτοπιοῦσι τά τε Βάκτρα καὶ τὴν Ἀρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀπέχοντας τόπους τῆς διακεκαυμένης σταδίους τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ὅσους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπὶ Βορυσθένη φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Ἵππαρχος. ἐκπεσοῦνται ἄρα εἰς τοὺς βορειοτέρους τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, σταδίοις ὀκτακισχιλίοις καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις, ὅσοις νοτιώτερος ἐστὶν ὁ ἰσημερινὸς τοῦ ὁρίζοντος κύκλου τὴν διακεκαυμένην καὶ τὴν εὔκρατον· ὃν φαμὲν διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου Ἰνδικῆς μάλιστα γράφεσθαι. Ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἐπεδείκνυμεν μέχρι τῆς Ἰέρνης μόλις οἰκήσιμα ὄντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κελτικήν, ἅπερ οὐ πλείω τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐστίν. οὗτος δ' ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος τῆς Ἰέρνης ἔτι βορειότερον εἶναι τινὰ κύκλον οἰκήσιμον σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις. Ἔστι δὲ Βάκτρα καὶ τὰ τοῦ στόματος τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, εἴτε Ὑρκανίας πάμπολύ τι ἀρκτικώτερα, ὅπερ τοῦ μυχοῦ τῆς Κασπίας καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν καὶ Μηδικῶν ὀρῶν διέχει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους, καὶ δοκεῖ τῆς αὐτῆς παραλίας μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀρκτικώτερον εἶναι σημεῖον, καὶ περίπλουν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς δυνατὸν, ὡς φησιν ὁ τῶν τόπων ἡγησάμενος τούτων Πατροκλῆς. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἡ Βακτριανὴ χίλια στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκτείνεται· τὰ δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν πολὺ μείζω ταύτης ἐπέκεινα χώραν νέμεται, καὶ τελευτᾷ πρὸς τὴν βόρειον θάλατταν, νομαδικῶς μὲν, ζῶντα δ' ὅμως. Πῶς οὖν εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ Βάκτρα ἤδη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκπίπτει; εἴη ἂν τὸ

διάστημα τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου μέχρι τῆς βορείας θαλάττης τῇ διὰ Βάκτρων ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων. ταῦτα δὴ προστεθέντα τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱέρνης ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια σταδιασμῷ ποιεῖ τὸ πᾶν διὰ τῆς ἀοικήτου διάστημα ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ τῆς Ἱέρνης σταδιασμοῦ σταδιων ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ ὀκτακοσίων· εἰ δὲ ἐάσειέ τις τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους, αὐτά γε τὰ πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ μέρη τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἔσται βορειότερα τῆς Ἱέρνης σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις, τῆς δὲ Κελτικῆς καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ὀκτακισχιλίοις καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις.

18. Φησὶ δέ γε ὁ Ἵππαρχος κατὰ τὸν Βορυσθένη καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς θεριναῖς νυξὶ παραυγάζεσθαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου περιϊστάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν· ταῖς δὲ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς πλεῖστον μετεωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ πήχεις ἐννέα· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπέχουσι τῆς Μασσαλίας ἑξακισχιλίοις καὶ τριακοσίοις (οὓς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔτι Κελτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι Βρεττανοὺς εἶναι βορειοτέρους τῆς Κελτικῆς, σταδίοις δισχιλίοις πεντακοσίοις) πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἡμέραις ὁ ἥλιος μετεωρίζεται πήχεις ἕξ· τέτταρας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπέχουσι Μασσαλίας ἐννακισχιλίους σταδίους καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα, οἳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον πολὺ ἂν εἶεν ἀρκτικώτεροι τῆς Ἱέρνης. Οὗτος δὲ Πυθέᾳ πιστεύων, κατὰ τὰ νοτιώτερα τῆς Βρεττανικῆς τὴν οἴκησιν ταύτην τίθησι, καί φησιν εἶναι τὴν μακροτάτην ἐνταῦθα ἡμέραν, ὡρῶν ἰσημερινῶν δέκα ἐννέα, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ὅπου τέτταρας ὁ ἥλιος μετεωρίζεται πήχεις· οὓς φησιν ἀπέχειν τῆς Μασσαλίας ἐννακισχιλίους καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους· ὥσθ' οἱ νοτιώτατοι τῶν Βρεττανῶν βορειότεροι τούτων εἰσίν. Ἤτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου εἰσὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Καυκασῳ Βακτρίοις, ἢ ἐπί τινος πλησιάζοντος· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Δηίμαχον συμβήσεται βορειοτέρους εἶναι τῆς Ἱέρνης τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Καυκασῳ Βακτρίους, σταδίοις τρισχιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις· προστεθέντων δὲ τούτων τοῖς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας εἰς Ἱέρνην, γίνονται μύριοι δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι. Τίς οὖν ἱστόρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ τόποις, λέγω δὲ τοῖς περὶ Βάκτρα, τοῦτο τὸ μῆκος τῶνμεγίσ-

των ἡμερῶν, ἢ τὸ ἔξαρμα τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ κατὰ τὰς μεσουρανήσεις ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς; ὀφθαλμοφανῆ γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἰδιώτῃ, καὶ οὐ δεόμενα μαθηματικῆς σημειώσεως· ὥστε συνέγραψαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν τὰ Περσικὰ ἱστορούντων, καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς. Πῶς δ' ἂν ἡ λεχθεῖσα εὐδαιμονία τῶν τόπων, ὡμολόγητο τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ φαινομένοις; Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλον, ὡς καὶ σοφῶς ἀντιλέγει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ὡς ἰσοδυναμούντων τῶν ζητουμένων, λαμβάνοντος πρὸς τὸ ἀποδεῖξαι τὸ ζητούμενον.

Ib. c. iii.

Καὶ νῦν δ' εἰρήσθω, ὅτι καὶ Τιμοσθένης καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, καὶ οἱ ἔτι τούτων πρότεροι τελέως ἠγνόουν τά τε Ἰβηρικὰ καὶ τὰ Κελτικά· μυρίῳ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ τὰ Βρεττανικά· ὡς δ' αὕτως τὰ τῶν Γετῶν καὶ Βασταρνῶν.

Ib. Lib. II. c. iv.

1. Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἐᾷν φησὶ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαίαρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον τερὶ τῆς γεωγραφίας, καὶ Πυθέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακρουσθῆναι πολλούς· ὅλην μέν τοι Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβατὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου. προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ κατ' αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι, οὔτε θάλαττη, οὔτ' ἀὴρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικὸς, ἐν ᾧ φησὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων, μή ποτε πορευτὸν, μή τε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ἐοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τ' ἄλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου· καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθένδε, πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανῖτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάϊδος.

2. Φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πῶς ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ

πορευτὰ γένοιτο; τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τούτοις, ὅμως περί τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευκέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· Ἐρατοσθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἡ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια, καὶ τὰ ἀρτίκα τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄγνοια.

7. Οἰκοῦσι δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ὕστατοι τῶν γνωρίμων Σκυθῶν, Ῥωξολάνοι, νοτιώτεροι ὄντες τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐσχάτων γνωριζομένων· ἤδη δὲ τὰ ἐπέκεινα διὰ ψύχος ἀοίκητά ἐστι. νοτιώτεροι δὲ τούτων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιώτιδος, Σαυρομάτοι καὶ Σκύθαι, μέχρι τῶν ἑώων Σκυθῶν.

8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μασσαλιώτης Πυθέας τὰ περὶ Θούλην τὴν βορειοτάτην τῶν Βρεττανικῶν ὕστατα λέγει, παρ' οἷς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἀρκτικῷ, ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς κύκλος· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἱστορῶν, οὔθ' ὅτι Θούλη νῆσος ἐστί τις, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ μέχρι δεῦρο οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν, ὅπου ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀρκτικὸς γίνεται. Νομίζω δὲ πολὺ εἶναι νοτιώτερον τοῦτο τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πέρας τὸ προσάρκτιον. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἱστοροῦντες, περαιτέρω τῆς Ἰέρνης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν, ἢ πρὸς ἄρκτον πρόκειται τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πλησίον, ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων, κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ ψύχος· ὥστ' ἐνταῦθα νομίζω τὸ πέρας εἶναι θετέον. Τοῦ δὲ παραλλήλου τοῦ διὰ Βυζαντίου καὶ διὰ Μασσαλίας πως ἰόντος, ὥς φησιν Ἵππαρχος πιστεύσας Πυθέᾳ (φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τοῦ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ), τοῦ δὲ διὰ Βορυσθένους ἀπὸ τούτου διέχοντος περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους, εἴη ἂν ἐκ τοῦ διαστήματος, τοῦ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν, ἐνταῦθά που πίπτων ὁ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθένους κύκλος πανταχοῦ. Πολλαχοῦ δὲ παρακρουόμενος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Πυθέας, κἀνταῦθά που διέψευσται. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ στηλῶν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τοῦς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ῥόδον τόπους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κεῖσθαι, ὡμολόγηται παρὰ πολλῶν· ὁμολογεῖται δὲ, ὅτι καὶ διὰ μέσου πως τοῦ πελάγους ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν. οἵ τε πλέοντες τὸ μέγιστον δίαρμα ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην εἶναι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κόλπου σταδίων πεντακισχιλίων. τοῦτο δ' εἶναι

καὶ τὸ μέγιστον πλάτος τοῦ πελάγους· ὥστ' εἴη ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς λεχθείσης γραμμῆς ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ κόλπου σταδίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ Μασσαλίαν ἐλαττόνων· νοτιωτέρα γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Μασσαλία τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κόλπου. Τὸ δέ γε ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥοδίας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιόν ἐστι τετρακισχιλίων που καὶ ἐννακοσίων σταδίων· ὥστε πολὺ ἀρκτικώτερος ἂν εἴη ὁ διὰ Βυζαντίου τοῦ διὰ Μασσαλίας. Τὸ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν δύναται συμφωνεῖν τῷ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένη· τὸ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰέρνην, οὐκέτι γνώριμον πόσον ἄν τις θείη, οὐδ', εἰ περαιτέρω ἔτι οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ τοῖς ἐπάνω λεχθεῖσι φροντίζειν. Πρός τε γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἀρκεῖ τὸ λαβεῖν, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν, ὅτι ὑπὲρ Μερόης μέχρι τρισχιλίων σταδίων προελθόντι τῆς οἰκησίμου τίθεσθαι προσῆκεν· οὐχ ὡς ἂν τούτου ἀκριβεστάτου πέρατος ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἐγγύς γε τἀκριβοῦς· οὕτω κἀκεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς οὐ πλείους τούτων θετέον, ἢ μικρῷ πλείους, οἷον τετρακισχιλίους. Πρός τε τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς χρείας οὐδὲν ἂν τη πλεονέκτημα τὰς τοιαύτας γνωρίζειν χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. καὶ μάλιστα εἰ νήσους οἰκεῖεν τοιαύτας, αἳ μήτε λυπεῖν, μήτ' ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δύνανται μηδέν, διὰ τὸ ἀνεπίπλεκτον. Καὶ γὰρ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἔχειν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι κατεφρόνησαν, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οὔτε φόβος ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστιν (οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύουσι τοσοῦτον, ὥστ' ἐπιδιαβαίνειν ἡμῖν), οὔτ' ὠφέλεια τοσαύτη τις, εἰ κατάσχοιεν. πλέον γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῶν τελῶν δοκεῖ προσφέρεσθαι νῦν, ἢ ὁ φόρος δύναται συντελεῖν, ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δαπάνης, τὸ φρουρῆσον καὶ φορολογῆσον τὴν νῆσον· πολὺ δ' ἂν ἐπιγένοιτο τὸ ἄχρηστον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ ταύτην νήσων.

12. Μάλιστα δ' οἱ νῦν ἔχοιεν ἄμεινον ἄν τι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Βρεττανοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, τούς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός. Γέτας τε καὶ Τυριγέτας, καὶ Βαστάρνας· ἔτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καύκασον, οἷον Ἀλβανοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας. Ἀπήγγελται δ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Παρθικὰ συγγραψάντων τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀρτεμείτην, ἃ πολλῶν ἐκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἀφόρισαν, τὰ περὶ τὴν

Ὑρκανίαν καὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν. Τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλλόντων μετὰ στρατιᾶς νεωστὶ, ἧς ἡγεῖτο ἀνὴρ φίλος ἡμῖν καὶ ἑταῖρος Αἴλιος Γάλλος· καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐμπόρων στόλος ἤδη πλεόντων διὰ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἃ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνωσται τοῖς νῦν ἢ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν. Ὅτε γοῦν Γάλλος ὑπῆρχε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ συναναβάντες μέχρι Συήνης καὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὅρων, ἱστοροῦμεν ὅτι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι νῆες πλέοιεν ἐκ Μυὸς ὅρμου πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικήν· πρότερον ἐκ τῶν Πτολεμαϊκῶν βασιλέων, ὀλέγων παντάπασι θαῤῥούντων πλεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν ἐμπορεύεσθαι φόρτον.

13. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶκυριώτατα καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς πολιτικὰς ταύτας, σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἁπλούστατα ἐγχειρεῖν, τὸ πίπτον εἰς τὸν γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, συμπαραδηλοῦντα καὶ τὸ ποιόν τι καὶ πόσον μέρος τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἐστί· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖον τῷ γεωγράφῳ. Τὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὅλης ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς, καὶ περὶ σπονδύλου παντὸς ἧς λέγωμεν ζώνης, ἄλλης τινὸς ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν· οἷον εἰ περιοικεῖται καὶ κατὰ θάτερον τιταρτημόριον ὁ σπόνδυλος· καὶ γὰρ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτων γε οἰκεῖται των παρ' ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνην ἄλλην οἰκουμένην θετέον· ὅπερ ἐστὶ πιθανόν. Ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ταῦτα λεκτέον.

14. Ἔστι δή τι χλαμυδοειδὲς σχῆμα τῆς γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὗ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὑπογράφει τὸ μέγιστον ἡ διὰ τοῦ Νείλου γραμμὴ, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου παραλλήλου, καὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῶν φυγάδων νήσου, μέχρι τοῦ διὰ τῆς Ἱέρνης παραλλήλου· τὸ δὲ μῆκος, ἡ ταύτης πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπερίας διὰ στηλῶν καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ, μέχρι τῆς Ῥοδίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου, παρὰ τὸν Ταῦρον ἰοῦσα, τὸν διεζωκότα τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ καταστρέφουσα ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλατταν, μεταξὺ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Βακτριανῆς Σκυθῶν. Δεῖ δὴ νοῆσαι παραλληλόγραμμόν τι, ἐν ᾧ τὸ χλαμυδοειδὲς σχῆμα ἐγγέγραπται

οὕτως, ὥστε τὸ μῆκος τῷ μήκει ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ ἴσον εἶναι τὸ μέγιστον, καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῷ πλάτει. Τὸ μὲν δὴ χλαμυδοειδὲς σχῆμα οἰκουμένη ἐστί. Τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὁρίζεσθαι ἔφαμεν αὐτῆς ταῖς ἐσχάταις παραλλήλοις πλευραῖς, ταῖς διοριζούσαις τὸ οἰκήσιμον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. αὗται δ' ἦσαν, πρὸς ἄρκτους μὲν, ἡ διὰ τῆς Ἱέρνης· πρὸς δὲ τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ, ἡ διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου· αὗται δὴ προσεκβαλλόμεναι ἐπί τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δύσεις μέχρι τῶν ἀνταιρόντων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ποιήσουσί τι παραλληλόγραμμον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιζευγνυούσας διὰ τῶν ἄρκτων αὐτάς. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκουμένη, φανερὸν, ἐκ τοῦ μήτε τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς τὸ μέγιστον ἔξω πίπτειν αὐτοῦ, μήτε τὸ μῆκος. Ὅτι δ' αὐτῆς χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν, ἐκ τοῦ τὰ ἄκρα μυουρίζειν τὰ τοῦ μήκους ἑκατέρωθεν, κλυζόμενα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ πλάτους. Τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν περιπλευσάντων τά τε ἑῶα μέρη καὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ ἑκατέρωθεν. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰνδικῆς νοτιωτέραν πολὺ τὴν Ταπροβάνην καλουμένην νῆσον ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἰκουμένην ἔτι καὶ ἀνταίρουσαν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νήσῳ, καὶ τῇ τὸ κιννάμωμον φερούσῃ γῇ τὴν μὲν γὰρ κράσιν τῶν ἀέρων παραπλησίαν εἶναι. τῆς τε μετὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑστάτης, ἀρκτικώτερά ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάττης, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱέρνην. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἔξω στηλῶν λέγεται. δυσμικώτατον μὲν γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἱερόν· κεῖται δὲ κατὰ γραμμήν πως πρὸς τὴν διὰ Γαδείρων τε καὶ στηλῶν, καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίας. συμφωνεῖν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὡροσκοπεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους φασὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωσε φοροὺς, καὶ τὰ μήκη τῶν μεγίστων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν· ἔστι γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ὡρῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν. Ἔν τε τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ Ἴβηρας ποτὲ ὁρᾶσθαι. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἔκ τινος ὑψηλῆς οἰκίας ἐν πόλει διεχούσῃ τῶν τόπων τούτων ὅσον τετρακοσίους σταδίους, φησὶν ἰδεῖν ἀστέρα, ὃν τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸν Κάνωβον αὐτόν· ἐκ τούτου τε μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς

Ἰβηρίας προελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὁμολογεῖν ἀφορᾷν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἐν Κνίδῳ· τὴν γὰρ Εὐδόξου σκοπὴν, οὐ πολὺ τῶν οἰκήσεων ὑψηλοτέραν εἶναι, λέγεσθαι δ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐντεῦθεν ἀφεώρα τὸν Κάνωβον ἀστέρα· εἶναι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥοδιακοῦ κλίματος τὴν Κνίδον, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἡ ταύτῃ παραλία.

15. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ νότια μέρη πλέουσιν, ἡ Λιβύη κεῖται· ταύτης δὲ τὰ δυσμικώτατα, μικρὰ τῶν Γαδείρων πρόκειται μᾶλλον· εἶτ' ἄκραν ποιήσαντα στενὴν ἀναχωρεῖ πρὸς ἕω καὶ νότον, καὶ πλατύνεται κατ' ὀλίγον, ἕως ἂν τοῖς Αἰθερίοις Αἰθίοψι συνάψῃ. οὗτοι δ' ὑπόκεινται τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα τόπων ὕστατοι, συνάπτοντες τῇ διὰ τῆς Κινναμομωφόρου γραμμῇ. Εἰς δὲ τἀναντία πλέουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀκρωτηρίου μέχρι τῶν Ἀρτάβρων καλουμένων, ὁ πλοῦς ἐστι πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχουσι τὴν Λυσιτανίαν· εἶτ' ὁ λοιπὸς πρὸς ἕω πᾶς ἀμβλεῖαν γωνίαν ποιῶν, μέχρι τῶν τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρων τῶν τελευτώντων εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν. τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἀντίκειται πρὸς ἄρκτον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις ἀντίκεινται πρὸς ἄρκτον, αἱ Καττιτερίδες καλούμεναι νῆσοι, πελάγιαι κατὰ τὸ Βρεττανικόν πως κλίμα ἱδρυμέναι. ὥστε δῆλον ἐφ' ὅσον συνάγεται τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οἰκουμένης κατὰ μῆκος ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεχυμένου πελάγους εἰς στενόν.

27. Κατὰ μέρος δ' ἐστὶ πρώτη πασῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἡ Ἰβηρία, βύρσῃ βοείᾳ παραπλησία· τῶν ὡς ἂν τραχηλιαίων μερῶν ὑπερπιπτόντων εἰς τὴν συνεχῆ Κελτικήν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω· καὶ τούτοις ἐναποτέμνεται τὸ πλευρὸν ὄρος ἡ καλουμένη Πυρήνη. Ἡδ' ἄλλη πᾶσα ἐστὶ περίῤῥυτος τῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ μὲν νότιον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέχρι στηλῶν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ μέχρι τῶν βορείων ἄκρων τῆς Πυρήνης. μῆκος δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐστὶ περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους τὸ μέγιστον· πεντακισχιλίους δὲ πλάτος.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐστίν ἡ Κελτικὴ πρὸς ἕω μέχρι ποταμοῦ Ῥήνου, τὸ μὲν βόρειον πλευρὸν τῷ Βρεττανικῷ κλυζομένη πορθμῷ παντί· ἀντιπαρήκει γὰρ αὐτῇ παράλληλος ἡ νῆσος

αὕτη, πᾶσα πάσῃ, μῆκος ὅσον πεντακισχιλίους ἐπέχουσα· τό δ' ἑωθινὸν τῷ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ περιγραφομένη, παράλληλον ἔχοντι τὸ ῥεῦμα τῇ Πυρήνῃ· τὸ δὲ νότιον ταῖς μὲν Ἄλπεσι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου, τὸ δ' αὐτῇ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ· καθ' ὃ χωρίον ὁ καλούμενος Γαλατικὸς κόλπος ἀναχεῖται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Μασσαλία τε καὶ Ναρβὼν ἵδρυνται πόλεις ἐπιφανέσταται. Ἀντίκειται δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ κατ' ἀποστροφὴν ἕτερος κόλπος ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ, καλούμενος Γαλατικὸς βλέπων πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὴν Βρεττανικήν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ στενώτατον λαμβάνει τὸ πλάτος ἡ Κελτική· συνάγεται γὰρ εἰς ἰσθμὸν, ἐλαττόνων μὲν ἢ τρισχιλίων σταδίων, πλειόνων δ' ἢ δισχιλίων· μεταξὺ δ' ἐστὶ ῥάχις ὀρεινὴ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τῇ Πυρήνῃ, τὸ καλούμενον Κέμμενον ὄρος· τελευτᾷ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς μεσαίτατα τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πεδία. Τῶν δὲ Ἄλπεων ἃ ἐστιν ὄρη σφόδρα ὑψηλὰ, περιφερῆ ποιούντων γραμμὴν, τὸ μὲν κυρτὸν ἔστραπται πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα τῶν Κελτῶν πεδία καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος· τὸ δὲ κοῖλον πρὸς τὴν Λιγυστικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔθνη δὲ κατέχει πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο Κελτικὰ, πλὴν τῶν Λιγύων· οὗτοι δ' ἑτεροεθνεῖς μέν εἰσι, παραπλήσιοι δὲ τοῖς βίοις· νέμονται δὲ μέρος τῶν Ἄλπεων τὸ συνάπτον τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι· μέρος δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν κατέχουσι. Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὀρεινὴ ῥάχις διὰ τοῦ μήκους ὅλου τῆς Ἰταλίας διαπεφυκυῖα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, τελευτῶσα δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμόν.

29. Τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέρη, τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα ταις Ἄλπεσι πεδία μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀδρίου, καὶ τῶν πλησίον τόπων· τὰ δ' ἑξῆς, ἄκρα στενὴ καὶ μακρὰ χερρόνησιάζουσα· δ' ἧς, ὡς εἶπον, ἐπὶ μῆκος τέταται τὸ Ἀπέννινον ὄρος, ὅσον ἑπτακισχιλίων, πλάτος δ' ἀνώμαλον. Ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν χερρόνησον, τότε Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ, καὶ τὸ Λυσόνειον, καὶ ὁ Ἀδρίας·

30. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν, τὰ πρὸς ἕω λοιπά ἐστι τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἃ δίχα τέμνεται τῷ Ἴστρῳ ποταμῷ· φέρεται δ' οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον

πόντον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ λιπὼν τήν τε Γερμανίαν ὅλην ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου, καὶ τὸ Γετικὸν πᾶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Τυριγετῶν, καὶ Βασταρνῶν, καὶ Σαυροματῶν, μέχρι Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τήν τε Θρᾴκην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν· λοιπὴν δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πρόκεινται δὲ νῆσοι τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἃς ἔφαμεν ἔξω μὲν στηλῶν Γάδειρά τε καὶ Καττιτερίδες, καὶ Βρεττανικαί· ἐντὸς δὲ στηλῶν, αἵτε Γυμνησίαι καὶ ἄλλα νησίδια Φοινίκων, καὶ τὰ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν καὶ Λιγύων· καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέχρι τῶν Αἰόλου νήσων, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας· ὅσαι τε περὶ τὴν Ἤπειρῶτιν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θρᾳκίας χερρονήσου. . . . .

Ἐν δὲ τῇ νοτιωτάτῃ θαλάττῃ πρόκειται τῆς Ἰνδικῆς νῆσος, οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἡ Ταπροβάνη.

Ib. Lib. II. c. v.

Λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχει καθολικὴν ὑποτύπωσιν, ὁρμηθεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν γραμμῶν ἐκείνων, ἃ στοιχεῖα ἐκαλέσαμεν· λέγω δὲ τῆς τε τὸ μῆκος ἀφοριζούσης τὸ μέγιστον, καὶ τῆς τὸ πλάτος, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τὸ πλάτος. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀστρονομικοῖς ἐπιπλέον τοῦτο ποιητέον, καθάπερ Ἵππαρχος ἐποίησεν. Ἀνέγραψε γὰρ, ὡς αὐτός φησι, τὰς γιγνομένας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις διαφορὰς καθ' ἕκαστον τῆς γῆς τόπον, τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς τεταρτημωρίῳ τεταγμένων· λέγω δὲ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ μέχρι τοῦ βορείου πόλου. Τοῖς δὲ γεωγραφοῦσιν οὔτε τῶν ἔξω τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης φροντιστέον· οὔτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρεσι, τὰς τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας διαφορὰς παραδεκτέον τῷ πολιτικῷ· περισκελεῖς γάρ εἰσιν. ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ τὰς σημειώδεις καὶ ἁπλουστέρας ἐκθέσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθεισῶν· ὑποθεμένοις, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, εἶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γῆς σταδίων εἴκοσι πέντε μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίων· ὡς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἀποδίδωσιν· οὐ μεγάλη γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔσται διαφορὰ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν οἰκήσεων διαστήμασιν. Εἰ

δή τις εἰς τριακόσια ἑξήκοντα τμήματα τέμοι τὸν μέγιστον τῆς γῆς κύκλον, ἔσται ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων ἕκαστον τῶν τμημάτων· τούτῳ δὴ χρῆται μέτρῳ πρὸς τὰ διαστήματα ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι διὰ Μερόης μεσημβρινῷ λαμβάνεσθαι μέλλοντι. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ μεσημβρινῷ οἰκούντων· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀεὶ δι' ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων τὰς ἐφεξῆς οἰκήσεις ἐπιὼν κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα μεσημβρινὸν, πειρᾶται λέγειν τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις φαινόμενα· ἡμῖν δ' οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρκτέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ οἰκήσιμα ταῦτα ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἰδία γέ τις οἰκουμένη αὕτη ἐστὶ, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀοικήτου διὰ καῦμα στενὴ τεταμένη, οὐκ οὖσα μέρος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης. Ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος ἐπισκοπεῖ ταύτην μόνην τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην. Αὕτη δ' ἀφορίζεται πέρασι, νοτίῳ μὲν, τῷ διὰ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου παραλλήλῳ· βορείῳ δὲ τῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰέρνης· οὔτε δὲ τὰς τοσαύτας οἰκήσεις ἐπιθετέον, ὅσας ὑπαγορεύει τὸ μεταξὺ λεχθὲν διάστημα· οὔτε πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα θετέον, μεμνημένοις τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ σχήματος.

Ib. Lib. III. c. ii.

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μετάλλων ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθους ῥητορίας, ἀλλὰ συνενθουσιᾷ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ μύθῳ φησὶν, ὅτι τῶν δρυμῶν ποτε ἐμπρησθέντων ἡ γῆ τακεῖσα ἄτε ἀργυρῖτις καὶ χρυσῖτις, εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξέζεσε· διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὕλην εἶναι νομίσματος, ὑπό τινος ἀφθόνου τύχης σεσωρευμένην. καθόλου δ' ἂν εἴπέ φησιν ἰδών τις τοὺς τόπους, θησαυροὺς εἶναι φύσεως ἀεννάου, ἢ ταμεῖον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεκλείπτον· οὐ γὰρ πλουσία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόπλουτος ἦν φησιν ἡ χώρα· καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον, οὐχ ὁ Ἅδης, ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ὡραίῳ σχήματι εἴρηκε περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μετάλλου καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χρώμενος τῷ λόγῳ. Τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν φράζων τὴν τῶν μεταλλευόντων, παρατίθησι τὸ τοῦ Φαληρέως· ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν

Ἀττικῶν ἀργυρείων οὕτω συντόνως ὀρύττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἂν προσδοκῶντας αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν Πλούτωνα· καὶ τούτων οὖν ἐμφανίζει παραπλησίαν τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν, σκολιὰς τεμνόντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύριγγας· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπαντῶντας ποταμοὺς πολλάκις, ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις ἀναντλοῦνται κοχλέαις. τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦτόν ποτε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰνίγματι ἐοικέναι τὴν μεταλλείαν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνέλαβον, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔλαβον· ὅσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέβαλον· τούτοις δ' ὑπεράγαν λυσιτελῆ· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἐξάγουσι τῆς γῆς τὸν χαλκὸν, τῶν δὲ ἀργυρευόντων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον ἐξαιρόντων. Τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐπιπολῆς εὑρίσκεσθαί φησιν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι· γεννᾶσθαι δ' ἔν τε ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττιτερίσι νήσοις· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις, οἱ τῆς Λυσιτανίας ὕστατοι πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν εἰσὶν, ἐξανθεῖν φασιν ἀργυρείῳ τὴν γῆν καττιτέρῳ, χρυσίῳ λευκῷ. ἀργυρομιγὴς γάρ ἐστι· τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην φέρειν τοὺς παταμούς· τὴν δὲ σκαλίσι τὰς γυναῖκας διαμώσας πλύνειν ἐν ἑσθητηρίοις πλεκτοῖς ἐπὶ κίστῃ. Οὗτος μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τοιαῦτ' εἴρηκε.

Ib. Lib. III. c. v.

Αἱ δὲ Καττιτερίδες, δέκα μέν εἰσι, κεῖνται δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος πελαγίαι· μία δ' αὐτῶν ἔρημός ἐστι· τὰς δ' ἄλλας οἰκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μελάγχλαινοι, ποδήρεις ἐνδεδυκότες τοὺς χιτῶνας, ἐζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στέρνα, μετὰ ῥάβδων περιπατοῦντες, ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποιναῖς. ζῶσι δ' ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων νομαδικῶς τὸ πλέον. Μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττιτέρου καὶ μολύβδου, κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται, καὶ ἅλας, καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους. Πρότερον μὲν

οὖν, Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων, κρύπτοντες ἅπασι τὸν πλοῦν· τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπακολουθούντων ναυκλήρῳ τινὶ, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν τὰ ἐμπορεῖα, φθόνῳ ὁ ναύκληρος ἑκὼν εἰς τέναγος ἐξέβαλε τὴν ναῦν· ἐπαγαγὼν δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄλεθρον καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους, αὐτὸς ἐσώθη διὰ ναυαγίου, καὶ ἀπέλαβε δημοσίαν τὴν τιμὴν ὧν ἀπέβαλε φορτίων. Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅμως πειρώμενοι πολλάκις, ἐξέμαθον τὸν πλοῦν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσος διαβὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικροῦ βάθους ὀρυττόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρηναίους ἐκ περιουσίας ἤδη τὴν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι, ταύτην τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπέδειξε· καίπερ οὖσαν πλείω τῆς διειργούσης εἰς τὴν Βρετανικήν.

Ib. Lib. iv. c. i.

14. Ὁ μέν γε Ῥοδανὸς πολὺν τε ἔχει τὸν ἀνάπλουν, καὶ μεγάλοις φορτίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς χώρας, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ποταμοὺς ὑπάρχειν πλωτοὺς, καὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὸν φόρτον πλεῖστον. Ὁ δ' Ἄραρ ἐκδέχεται, καὶ ὁ Δοῦβις ὁ εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλλων· εἶτα πεζεύεται μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοανᾶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· κἀντεῦθεν ἤδη καταφέρεται εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν, καὶ τοὺς Ληξοβίους, καὶ Καλέτους· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν, ἐλάττων ἢ ἡμερήσιος δρόμος ἐστίν.

Ib. Lib. iv. c. ii.

Ὁ δὲ Λείγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν ἐκβαλλει. πρότερον δὲ Κορβίλων ὑπῆρχεν ἐμπορεῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ· περὶ ἧς εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, μνησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογηθέντων· ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκηπίωνι, οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον, ἐρωτηθεὶς, ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Ναρβῶνος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβηλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτῃ. Πυθέας δ' ἐθάῤῥησε ψεύσασθαι τοσαῦτα.

Ib. Lib. iv. c. iii.

Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ πρῶτοι τῶν ἁπάντων οἰκοῦσι Ναντουάται.

Πρόκειται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Βρεττανικὴ, τοῦ μὲν Ῥήνου καὶ ἐγγύθεν, ὥστε καθορᾶσθαι τὸ Κάντιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἑῶον ἄκρον τῆς νήσου· τοῦ δὲ Σηκουάνα μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυπήγιον συνεστήσατο Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς, πλέων εἰς τὴν Βρεταννικήν.

Δίαρμα δ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν τῆς Κελτικῆς, εἴκοσι καὶ τ' στάδιοι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἀναχθέντες, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν καταίρουσιν εἰς τὴν νῆσον.

Ib. Lib. iv. c. iv.

§ 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἔθνη, τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστιν ἔθνη, τῶν παρωκεανιτῶν, ὧν Οὐενετοὶ μέν εἰσιν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν, χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. κατεναυμάχησε δὲ ῥᾳδίως, οὐκ ἐμβόλοις χρώμενος, (ἦν γὰρ παχέα τὰ ξύλα) ἀλλ' ἀνέμῳ φερομένων ἐπ' αὐτὸν, κατέσπων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἱστία δορυδρεπάνοις (ἦν γὰρ σκύτινα,) διὰ τὴν βίαν τῶν ἀνέμων. ἀλύσεις δ' ἔτεινον ἀντὶ κάλων· πλατύπυγα δὲ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ὑψόπρωρα διὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις, δρυΐνης ὕλης, ἧς ἐστιν εὐπορία· διόπερ οὐ συνάγουσι τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ' ἀραιώματα καταλείπουσι· ταῦτα δὲ βρύοις διανάττουσι, τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰς νεωλκίας καπυροῦσθαι τὴν ὕλην μὴ νοτιζομένην· τοῦ μὲν βρύου νοτιωτέρου ὄντος τῇ φύσει, τῆς δὲ δρυὸς ξηρᾶς καὶ ἁλιποῦς. Τούτους οἶμαι τοὺς Οὐενετοὺς, οἰκιστὰς εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν.

Ib. Lib. iv. c. iv.

§ 4. Παρ' ἅπασι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστὶ, Βάρδοι τε, καὶ Οὐάτεις, καὶ Δρυΐδαι· Βάρδοι μὲν, ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί· Οὐάτεις δὲ, ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι· Δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολόγιᾳ, καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλο-

σοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι. δικαιότατοι δὲ νομίζονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινάς· ὥστε καὶ πολέμους διήτων πρότερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔπαυον· τὰς δὲ φοινικὰς δίκας μάλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο δικάζειν· ὅταν τε φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. Ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον· ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

§ 5. Τῷ δ' ἁπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ, πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσεστι, καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον· χρυσοφοροῦσί τε γὰρ περὶ μὲν τοῖς τραχήλοις στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες. περὶ δὲ τοῖς βραχίοσι καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ψέλια, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας βαπτὰς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστους, οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι. ὑπὸ τοιαύτης δὲ κουφότητος, ἀφόρητο, μὲν νικῶντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δ' ἡττηθέντες ὁρῶνται. Πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον, καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προσβόροις ἔθνεσιν παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν τὴν θέαν τοῖς προπυλαίοις. Φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην πολλαχοῦ, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηδίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πράως διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες, ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἰσοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίουν. Καὶ τούτων δ' ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένοι παίσαντες τὶς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ Δρυϊδῶν. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας, καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς· καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου, καὶ ξύλον ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον, βοσκήματα καὶ παντοῖα θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὁλοκαύτουν.

§ 6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ φασιν εἶναι νῆσον μικρὰν, οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν, προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λείγηρος ποταμοῦ· οἰκεῖν δὲ ταύτην, τὰς τῶν Ναμνιτῶν γυναῖκας, Διονύσῳ κατεχομένας· καὶ ἱλασκομένας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον τελεταῖς τε, καὶ

ἄλλαις ἱεροποιΐαις ἐξιλεουμένας. οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας, κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι. ἔθος δ' εἶναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποστεγάζεσθαι, καὶ στεγάζεσθαι πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως, ἑκάστης φορτίον ἐπιφερούσης· ἧς δ' ἂν ἐκπέσοι τὸ φορτίον, διασπᾶσθαι ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· φερούσας δὲ τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετ' εὐασμοῦ, μὴ παύεσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν παύσωνται τῆς λύττης· ἀεὶ δὲ συμβαίνειν, ὥστε τινὰ ἐμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένην. Τοῦτο δ' ἔτι μυθωδέστερον εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸ περὶ τοὺς κόρακας συμβαῖνον. Λιμένα γάρ τινα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος ἱστορεῖ δύο κοράκων ἐπονομαζόμενον· φαίνεσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ δύο κόρακας τὴν δεξιὰν πτέρυγα παράλευκον ἔχοντας· τοὺς οὖν περί τινων ἀμφισβητοῦντας, ἀμφικομένους δεῦρο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τόπου, σανίδα θέντας ἐπιβάλλειν ψαιστὰ, ἑκάτερον χωρίς· τοὺς δ' ὄρνεις ἐφιπτάντας τὰ μὲν ἐσθίειν, τὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν· οὗ δ' ἂν σκορπισθῇ τὰ ψαιστὰ, ἐκεῖνον νικᾷν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα λέγει. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, πιστότερα· ὅτι φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὁμοῖα τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν πιστευομένων ἐστὶν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ φύεται δένδρον, ὅμοιον συκῇ, καρπὸν δ' ἐκφέρει παραπλήσιον κιονοκράνῳ Κορινθιουργεῖ· ἐπιτμηθεὶς δ' οὗτος, ἀφίησιν ὀπὸν θανάσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχρίσεις τῶν βελῶν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν θρυλλουμένων ἐστὶν, ὅτι πάντες Κελτοὶ φιλόνεικοί τε εἰσί· καὶ οὐ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν, τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀφειδεῖν τοὺς νέους. Ἔφορος δὲ, ὑπερβάλλουσάν τε τῷ μεγέθει λέγει τὴν Κελτικὴν, ὥστε ἥσπερ νῦν Ἰβηρίας καλοῦμεν, ἐκείνοις τὰ πλεῖστα προσνέμειν μέχρι Γαδείρων· φιλέλληνάς τε ἀποφαίνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐοικότα τοῖς νῦν. Ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, μὴ παχεῖς εἶναι, μηδὲ προγάστορας· τὸν δ' ὑπερβαλλόμενον τῶν νέων τὸ τῆς ζώνης μέτρον, ζημιοῦσθαι. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων Κελτικῆς.

Ib. Lib. IV. c. V.

1. Ἡ δὲ Βρεττανικὴ, τρίγωνος μέν ἐστι τῷ σχήματι· παραβέβληται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῆς πλευρὸν τῇ Κελτικῇ, τοῦ μήκους οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλον, οὔτ' ἐλλεῖπον· ἔστι γὰρ ὅσον τετρακισχιλίων καὶ τ' ἢ υ' σταδίων ἑκάτερον· τό, τε Κελτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῖ Ῥήνου μέχρι πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Πυρήνης ἄκρα τὰ κατὰ Ἀκουϊτανίαν, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Καντίου τοῦ κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἐκβαλῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου, ἑωθινωτάτου σημείου τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, μέχρι πρὸς τὸ ἑσπέριον ἄκρον τῆς νήσου, τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκουϊτανίαν καὶ τὴν Πυρήνην ἀντικείμενον. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοὐλάχιστον διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Πυρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ τὸ μέγιστον εἴρηται, ὅτι καὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων ἐστίν· ἀλλ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τινα σύννευσιν ἐκ τῆς παραλλήλου θέσεως τῷ ποταμῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπιστροφῆς τινος γενομένης, κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐσχατιάς.

2. Τέτταρα δ' ἐστὶ διάρματα, οἷς χρῶνται συνήθως ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ῥήνου, καὶ τοῦ Σηκοάνα, καὶ τοῦ Λείγηρος, καὶ τοῦ Γαρούνα· τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τόπων ἀναγομένοις, οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκβολῶν ὁ πλοῦς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμορούντων τοῖς Μεναπίοις Μορινῶν· παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἴτιον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο ναυσταθμῷ Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς, διαίρων εἰς νῆσον· νύκτωρ δ' ἀνήχθη, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κατῆρε περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν, τ' καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους τοῦ διάπλου τελέσας· κατέλαβε δ' ἐν ἀρούραις τὸν σῖτον. Ἔστι δ' ἡ πλείστη τῆς νήσου πεδιὰς, καὶ κατάδρυμος· πολλὰ δὲ γεώλοφα τῶν χωρίων ἐστί· φέρει δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα, καὶ χρυσὸν, καὶ ἄργυρον. ταῦτα δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ δέρματα, καὶ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας. Κελτοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται καὶ τούτοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις. Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κελτῶν εἰσι, καὶ ἧσσον ξανθότριχες, χαυνότεροι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι. σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους· ἀντίπαιδας γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἴδομεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων αὐτόθι ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιποδίῳ· βλαισοὺς δὲ

καὶ τ' ἄλλα οὐκ εὐγράμμους τῇ συστάσει. Τὰ δ' ἤθη τὰ μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἁπλούστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα· ὥστ' ἐνίους γάλακτος εὐποροῦντας, μὴ τυροποιεῖν, διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν· ἀπείρους δ' εἶναι καὶ κηπείας, καὶ ἄλλων γεωργικῶν. Δυναστεῖαι δ' εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολέμους, ἀπήναις χρῶνται τὸ πλέον, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔνιοι. Πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ δρυμοί· περιφράξαντες γὰρ δένδρεσι καταβεβλημένοις εὐρυχωρῆ κύκλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθα καλυβοποιοῦνται, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύουσιν, οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον. Ἔπομβροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἀέρες μᾶλλον ἢ νιφετώδεις· ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις ὁμίχλη κατέχει πολὺν χρόνον· ὅστε δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἢ τέτταρας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ἥλιον. Τοῦτο δὲ κἂν τοῖς Μορινοῖς συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῖς Μεναπίοις, καὶ ὅσοι τούτων πλησιόχωροι.

3. Δὶς δὲ διέβη Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὁ θεός· ἐπανῆλθε δὲ διὰ ταχέων οὐδὲν μέγα διαπραξάμενος, οὐδὲ προελθὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νήσου, διά τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτοῖς γενομένας στάσεις, τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν· καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπολέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, αὔξησιν λαβουσῶν τῶν ἀμπώτεων καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων. Λύο μέν τοι ἢ τρεῖς νίκας ἐνίκησε τοὺς Βρεττανούς, καίπερ δύο τάγματα μόνον περαιώσας τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπήγαγεν ὅμηρά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πλῆθος. Νυνὶ μέν τοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινες τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβεύσεσι καὶ θεραπείαις κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν φιλίαν, ἀναθήματά τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδὸν παρεσκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον· τέλη τε οὔπως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα, τῶν, τε ἐξαγομένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἐνθένδε· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια, καὶ περιαυχένια, καὶ λιγγούρια, καὶ ὑαλᾶ σκεύη, καὶ ἄλλος ῥῶπος τοιοῦτος· ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖν φρουρᾶς τῆς νήσου· τοὐλάχιστον μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς τάγματος χρήζοι ἂν, καὶ ἱππικοῦ τινος, ὥστε καὶ φόρους ἀπάγεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν· εἰς ἴσον δὴ καθίστατο πᾶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῇ

στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ μειοῦσθαι τὰ τέλη φόρων ἐπιβαλλομένων· ἅμα δὲ καὶ κινδύνους ἀπαντᾷν τινας, βίας ἐπαγομένης.

4. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσοι μικραί· μεγάλη δ' ἡ Ἱέρνη, πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτῇ παραβεβλημένη, προμήκης, μᾶλλον δὲ πλάτος ἔχουσα. Περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφὲς, πλὴν ὅτι ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι, τούς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας κατεσθίειν ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι· καὶ φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ, καὶ μητράσι, καὶ ἀδελφαῖς. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὕτω λέγομεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιοπίστους μάρτυρας. Καίτοι τό γε τῆς ἀνθρωποφαγίας καὶ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι λέγεται, καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολιορκητικαῖς, καὶ Κελτοὶ, καὶ Ἴβηρες, καὶ ἄλλος πλείους, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο λέγονται.

5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θούλης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφὴς ἡ ἱστορία, διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν· ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων, ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. Ἃ δ' εἴρηκε Πυθέας περὶ ταύτης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τύπων, ὅτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων· κατέψευσται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται. ὥστε δῆλός ἐστιν ἐψευσμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἐκτετοπισμένων. Πρὸς μέν τοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν ἱκανῶς δόξεις κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῖς τῇ κατεψυγμένῃ ζώνῃ πλησιάζουσι· τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων, καὶ ζώων τῶν μὲν ἀφορίαν παντελῆ, τῶν δὲ σπάνιν, κέγχρῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις λαχάνοις, καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ῥίζαις τρέφεσθαι· παρ' οἷς δὲ σῖτος καὶ μέλι γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν· τὸν δὲ σῖτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἡλίους οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαροὺς, ἐν οἴκοις μεγάλοις κόπτουσι, συγκομισθέντων δεῦρο τῶν σταχύων· αἱ γὰρ ἄλω ἄρχηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον, καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους.

VIBIUS SEQUESTER.

(B. C. 20.)

De Fluminibus.

Liger Galliæ dividens Aquitanos et Celtas, in Oceanum Britannicum evolvitur.

MESSALA CORVINUS.

(B. C. 10.)

Gallia atque Britannia novem annorum Julii Cæsaris labor fuere, tributariæ demum factæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

[Apud Venetos in Gallia, circa 723 A. U. C., 29 B. C.]

C. Caesar, GALLIA TOTA SUBACTA, DICTATORIS NOMINE INDE CAPTO, BRITANNIAM TRANSGRESSUS, NON SEIPSUM TANTUM, SED PATRIAM CORONAVIT.

C. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

(20 B. C.; 31 A. D.)

Historiæ Romanæ, lib. II. c. 46.

Cum deinde immanes res, vix multis voluminibus explicandas, C. Cæsar in Gallia ageret; nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis, innumerabilibusque cæsis et captis hostium millibus, etiam in Britanniam trajecisset exercitum, alterum pæne imperio nostro, ac suo, quærens orbem; invictum par consulum, Cn. Pompeius et Crassus, alterum iniere consulatum (A. U. C. 699, a Chr. n. 54.)

Ib. c. 47.

Per hæc tempora amplius cccc. millia hostium a Cæsare cæsa sunt: bis penetratâ Britanniâ.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

(Temp. Tiberii Imp.)

Memorabilia, lib. III. c. 2, § 23. De Fortitudine.

Tales in castris divi Julii disciplina milites aluit, quorum alter dexterâ, alter oculo amisso hostibus inhæsit: ille post hanc jacturam victor, hic ne hâc quidam jacturâ victus.

Tuum, vero, Scæva, inexsuperabilem spiritum in utraque parte rerum naturæ, qua admiratione prosequar, nescio: quoniam excellenti virtute dubium reliquisti, inter undasne pugnam fortiorem edideris, an in terrâ vocem emiseris. Bello, namque, quo C. Cæsar non contentus opera sua Oceani claudere litoribus, Britanniæ insulæ cælestes injecit manus, cum quatuor commilitonibus, rate transvectus in scopulum vicinum insulæ, quam hostium ingentes copiæ obtinebant. Postquam æstus regressu suo spatium, quo scopulus et insula dividebantur, in vadum transitu facile redegit, ingenti multitudine barbarorum affluente, cæteris rate ad litus regressis, solus immobilem stationis gradum retinens, undique ruentibus telis, et ab omni parte acri studio ad te invadendum nitentibus quinque militum diurno prælio suffectura pila, una dextra, hostium corporibus adegisti: ad ultimum destricto gladio, audacissimum quemque, modo umbonis impulsu, modo mucronis ictu depellens, hinc Romanis, illinc Britannicis oculis incredibili, nisi cernereris, spectaculo fuisti. Postquam deinde ira ac pudor cuncta conari fessos coegit, tragula

femur trajectus, saxique pondere ora contusus, galea jam ictibus discussa, et scuto crebris foraminibus absumto, profundo te credidisti, ac duabus loricis onustus, inter undas, quas hostili cruore infeceras, enatasti: visoque imperatore armis non amissis, sed bene impensis, cum laudem merereris, veniam petiisti. Magnus prælio; sed major disciplinæ militaris memoria; itaque ab optimo virtutis æstimatore, cum facta, tum etiam verba tua, centurionatus honore donata sunt.

MARCUS FABIUS QUINTILIANUS.

(60 A. D.)

De Institutione Oratoriâ, lib. VII. c. 4.

Hæc in suasoriis tractari solent, ut, si Cæsar deliberet, *An Britanniam* impugnet, *quæ sit Oceani natura? An Britannia insula*? (nam tum ignorabatur,) *quanta in ea terra? quo numero militum aggredienda*? in consilium ferendum sit.

Ib. lib. VIII. c. 3.

Quædam verba adhuc vetera vetustate ipsa gratius nitent: multa alia etiam audentius viseri possunt; sed ita demum, si non appareat affectatio: in quam mirifice Virgilius:

> Corinthiorum amator iste verborum
> Thucydides Britannus, Atticæ febres,
> Tau Gallicum, min, al, spinæ male illisit.
> Ita omnes ista verba miscuit fratri.

Cimber hic fuit a quo fratrem necatum hoc Ciceronis dicto notatum est, Germanum Cimber occidit.

C. JULIUS SOLINUS,

Polyhistor.

(A. D. 60.)

De Britannia, ac reliquis circum eam Insulis. De Lapide Gagate, c. xxii.

Finis erat orbis ora Gallici littoris, nisi Britannia insula non qualibet amplitudine nomen pene orbis alterius mereretur. Octingentis, enim, et amplius millibus passuum longa porrigitur, ita ut eam in Caledonicum usque angulum metiamur. In quo recessu Ulyxen Caledoniæ appulsum manifestat ara Græcis literis inscripta votum. Multis insulis nec ignobilibus circumdatur, quarum Hibernia ei proximat magnitudine, inhumana incolarum ritu aspero. Alias ita pabulosa, ut pecuaria nisi interdum æstate a pastibus arceantur, in periculum agat satias. Illic anguis nullus. Avis rara. Gens inhospita, et bellicosa. Sanguine interemptorum hausto prius, victores vultus suos oblinunt. Fas atque nefas eodem animo ducunt. Puerpera siquando marem edidit, primos cibos gladio imponit mariti, inque os parvuli summo mucrone auspicium alimentorum leviter infert, et gentilibus votis optat, non aliter quam in bello, et inter arma mortem oppetat. Qui student cultui, dentibus mari nantium belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos. Candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem; nam præcipua viris gloria est in armorum nitela. Apis nusquam. Advectum inde pulverem, seu lapillos siquis sparserit inter alvearia examina, favos deserunt. Mare quod Iberniam, et Britanniam interluit, undosum, et inquietum toto in anno, non nisi æstivis pauculis diebus est navigabile. Navigant autem vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubalorum. Quantocunque tempore cursus tenebit, navigantes escis abstinent. Freti latitudinem in centum xx. millia passuum diffundi, qui fidem ad verum ratiocinati sunt, æstimarunt. Silurum quoque insulas ab ora, quam

gens Britanna nunc tenet, turbidum fretum distinguit. Cujus homines etiam nunc custodiunt morem vetustum; nummum refutant, dant res, et accipiunt; mutatione necessaria potius quam pretiis parant. Deos percolunt. Scientiam futurorum pariter viri ac fœminæ ostentant. Thanatos insula alluitur freto Gallico, a Britanniæ continenti æstuario tenui separata, felix frumentariis campis, et gleba uberi. Nec tantum sibi soli, verum et aliis salubris locis. Nam cum ipsa nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra quoquo gentium invecta sit, angues necat. Multæ aliæ circum Britanniam insulæ, e quibus Thule ultima. in qua æstivo solstitio sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum nox pene nulla. Brumali solstitio dies adeo conductus, ut ortus junctus sint et occasus. Ultra Thulen pigrum esse, et concretum mare. Inde a Calidoniæ promontorio Tulen petentibus bidui navigatio est. Excipiunt Hæbudes insulæ quinque numero, quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges. Piscibus tantum, et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis. Nam quotquot sunt omnes, angusta interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universorum. Ad æquitatem certis legibus stringitur. Ac ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justiciam, utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris. Verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi fœmina datur propria, sed per vicissitudines, in quancunque commotus fuerit, usurariam sumit. Unde ei nec votum, nec spes conceditur liberorum. Secundam a continenti stationem euntibus Orcades præbent. Sed Orcades ab Hæbudibus porro absunt septem dierum, totidemque noctium cursu. Numero tres; vacant homine. Non habent sylvas, tantum junceis herbis inhorrescunt. Cætera earum nudæ arenæ, et rupes tenent. Ab Orcadibus Thulem usque v. dierum et v. noctium navigatio est. Sed Thule larga est, et diutina pomona copiosa. Qui illic habitant, principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, deinde lacte, in hyemem conferunt arborum fructus. Utuntur fœminis vulgo, certum matrimonium nulli. Circuitus Bri-

tanniæ quadragies octies septuaginta quinque millia passuum sunt. In quo spatio magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium. Quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cujus æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi cinis tabuit, vertitur in globos saxeos. Præterea, ut taceam metallorum largam variamque copiam, quibus Britanniæ solum undique generum pollet venis locupletibus, Gagates hic plurimus, optimusque est lapis. Si decorem requiras, nigro gemmeus; si qualitatem nullius fere ponderis; si naturam, aqua ardet, oleo restinguitur; si potestatem, attritu calfactus, applicita detinet, æque ut Succinum. Regionem partim tenent Barbari, quibus per artifices plagarum figuras jam inde a pueris variæ animalium effigies incorporantur, inscriptisque visceribus hominis incremento pigmenti notæ crescunt. Nec quicquam magis patientiæ loco nationes fere ducunt, quam ut per memores cicatrices plurimum fuci artus bibant.

Ib. c. xxiii.

Cassiterides insulæ spectant adversus Celtiberiæ latus, plumbi fertiles.

Ib. c. lxvi.

Dat et India margaritas; dat etiam littus Britannicum, sicut Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genitrici in templo ejus dicavit, e Britannicis margaritis factum subjecta inscriptione testatus est.

DIOSCORIDES.

(A. D. 60.)

Περὶ Σύθου. Κέφ. ρθ'.

Σύθος σκευάζεται ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς. ἔστι δὲ διουριτικὸς, καὶ νεφρῶν καὶ νεύρων ἁπτικὸς, καὶ μάλιστα μηνίγγων κακωτικός· πνευματωτικός τε καὶ γεννητικὸς κακοχυμιῶν, καὶ ἐλεφαντιάσεως ποιητικός, εὐεργὴς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔλεφας γίνεται βρεχόμενος αὐτῷ.

Περὶ Κούρμιθος. Κεφ. ρί.

Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον δὲ κοῦρμι, σκευαζόμενον δὲ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς, ᾧ καὶ ἀντὶ οἴνου πόματι πολλάκις χρῶνται, κεφαλαλγές ἔστι καὶ κακόχυμον, καὶ τῶν νεύρου βλαπτικόν. σκευάζεται δὲ καὶ ἐκ πυρῶν τοιαῦτα πόματα, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἑσπέραν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Βρετανίᾳ.

Περὶ Βρετανικῆς. Κεφ. β'.

Βρετανικὴ ἢ Βεττονικὴ, πόα ἐστιν ἔχουσα φύλλα ἐμφερῆ λαπάθῳ ἀγρίῳ, μελάντερα δὲ καὶ δασύτερα, στύφοντα ἐν τῇ γεύσει· καυλὸν δὲ ἀνίησιν οὐ μέγαν· ῥίζαν λεπτὴν καὶ βραχεῖαν. χυλίζεται δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐν ἡλίῳ ἢ πυρὶ συστρέφεται. Δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει στύπτικὴν ἰδίως ἁρμόζουσαν πρὸς τὰς ἐν στόματι καὶ παρισθμίοις νομὰς. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα στύψεως χρήζει.

POMPONIUS MELA.

(A. D. 65.)

Lib. I. c. 3. De Situ Orbis.

EUROPA terminos habet ab occidente Atlanticum, a septemtrione Britannicum Oceanum.

Lib. II. c. 6. Hispaniæ Ora citerior.

Pyrenæus primo hinc in Britannicum procurrit Oceanum; tum in terras fronte conversas, Hispaniam irrumpit.

Lib. III. c. 6. Septemtrionalis Oceani Insulæ.

In Celticis oris aliquot sunt insulæ, quas, quia plumbo abundant, imo omnes nomine Cassiteridas appellunt.

Sena in Britannico mari, Osismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cujus antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur. Gallicenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditis, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque, in quæ velint animalia, vertere; sanare, quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt; scire ventura, et predicare; sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum, ut se consulerent, profectis.

Britannia qualis sit, qualesque progeneret, mox certiora, et magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce Principum maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor, qui propriarum rerum fidem ut bello adfectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat. Ceterum, ut adhuc habuimus, inter septemtrionem occidentemque projecta, grandi angulo Rheni ostia prospicit deinde obliqua retro latera abstrahet, altero Galliam, altero Germaniam spectans: tum rursus perpetuo margine directi litoris at tergo obducta, iterum se in diversos angulos cuneat triquetra, et Siciliæ maxime similis plana, ingens, fecunda, verum his, quæ pecora, quam homines, benignius alant.

Fert nemora, lacus ac prægrandia flumina alternis motibus modo in pelagus, modo retro fluentia, et quædam gemmas margaritasque generantia. Fert populos regesque populorum: sed sunt inculti omnes, atque ut longius a continenti absunt, ita aliarum opum ignari magis, tantum pecore ac finibus dites, incertum ob decorem, an quid aliud, vitro corpora infecti. Causas autem et bella con-

trahunt, ac se frequenter invicem infestant, maxime imperitandi cupidine, studioque ea prolatandi quæ possident. Dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus, Gallice armati : covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur. Supra Britanniam Juverna est, pene par spatio, sed utrinque æquali tractu litorum oblonga, cæli ad maturanda semina iniqui : verum adeo luxuriosa herbis non lætis modo sed etiam dulcibus, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant, et nisi pabulo prohibeantur, diutius pasta dissiliant. Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, et omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes. Triginta sunt. Orcades angustis inter se ductæ spatiis.

Thule Belgarum littori apposita est, Graiis et nostris celebrata carminibus. In ea quod sol longe occasurus exsurgit, breves utique noctes sunt, sed per hyemem sicut alibi obscuræ, æstate lucidæ, quod per id tempus jam se altius evehens, quanquam ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima illustrat : per solstitium vero nullæ, quod tum jam manifestior non fulgorem modo, sed sui quoque partens maximam ostentat.

C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

(A. D. 70.)

Argonauticon, Lib. I. vers. 8.

. . . . Tuque, O pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Julos,
Eripe me populis, et habenti nubila terræ,
Sancte Pater ! . . . . . .

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA,

Philosophus.

(Temp. Claudii et Neronis.)

Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæsaris, s. III.

Tum Mercurius, qui semper Claudii ingenio delectatus esset, unam e tribus Parcis educit, et ait: Quid, femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri pateris? nec unquam tamdiu cruciandus esset; annus sexagesimus et quartus est, ex quo cum animâ luctatur. . . . . Sed Clotho: Ego, mehercule, inquit, pusillum temporis adjicere illi volebam, dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret. Constituerat enim omnes Græcos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos, togatos videre. . . . . .

Ib. s. VIII.

Parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt, et ut deum orant, Ἀλώρου φιλάτου χηίν.

Ib. s. XII.

Claudius, ut vidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse. Ingenti enim μεγαληγορίᾳ, nænia cantabatur anapæstes:

Fundite fletus: edite planctus;
Fingite luctus; resonat tristi
Clamore forum: cecidit pulchre
Cordatus homo, quo non alius
Fuit in toto fortior orbe.
. . . . . .
Ille Britannos ultra noti
Litora ponti, et cæruleos

Scuta Brigantes dare Romuleis
Colla catenis jussit, et ipsum
Nova Romanæ jura securis
Tremere Oceanum. . .

Consolatio ad Polybium libertum Claudii Cæsaris.

s. xxxii.

Abstine ab hoc manus tuas, fortuna, nec in isto potentiam tuam, nisi ex parte qua prodes, ostenderis. patere, illum generi humano jam diu ægro et affecto mederi: patere, quidquid prioris principis furor concussit, in locum suum restituere ac reponere. Sidus hoc, quod præcipitato in profundum, ac demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat. Hoc Germaniam pacet, Britanniam aperiat, et patrios triumphos ducat, et novos, quorum me quoque spectatorem futurum, quæ primum obtinet locum ex virtutibus ejus, promittit clementia.

Consolatio ad Marciam, s. xiv.

Quid te per innumerabilia magnorum virorum exempla ducam, et quorum miseros, quasi non difficilius sit, invenire felices? Quota quæque domus usque ad exitum omnibus partibus suis constitit, in qua non aliquid turbatum sit? . . . . C. Cæsar quum Britanniam peragraret, nec Oceano felicitatem suam continere posset, audivit decessisse filiam, publica secum fata ducentem. . . . . Tamen intra tertium diem imperatoria obiit munia, et tam cito dolorem vicit, quam omnia solebat.

OCTAVIA.

Actus I^mus.

Vitæ pertæsa, miserias suas deflet Octavia.

Vers. 18. O lux semper funesta mihi,
Illa, illa meis, tristis Erinnys,
Thalamis Stygios prætulit ignes;
Teque extinxit, miserande pater,
Modo cui totus paruit orbis
Ultra Oceanum,
Cuique Britanni terga dedere,
Ducibus nostris ante ignoti,
Jurisque sui.

Nutrix Octaviæ.

En, qui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,
Ignota, ut ante classibus texit freta,
Interque gentes barbaras tutus fuit,
Et sæva maria, conjugis scelere occidit,
Mox illius nata.

M. ANNÆUS LUCANUS.

(A.D. 30; A.D. 65.)

Pharsalia, Lib. I. v. 441—462.

Tu quoque lætatus converti prælia Trevir:
Et nunc tonse Ligur, quondam per colla decora
Crinibus effusis toti prælate Comatæ:
Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro

Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus;
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.
Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremtas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos, et cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. vobis auctoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus. inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Lib. II. v. 566—572.

. . . . . Cæsar ne Senatus
Victor erit? non tam cæco trahis omnia cursu,
Teque nihil Fortuna pudet. Multis ne rebellis
Gallia jam lustris, ætasque mpensa labori
Dant animos? Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis,
Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis?

Lib. III. v. 71—83.

Hæc ubi sunt provisa duci, tunc agmina victor
Non armata trahens, sed pacis habentia vultum,
Tecta petit patriæ. prô, si remeasset in urbem,
Gallorum tantum populis, Arctoque subacta,
Quam seriem rerum longa præmittere pompa,

Quas potuit belli facies ! ut vincula Rheno,
Oceanoque daret ! celsos ut Gallia currus
Nobilis, et flavis sequeretur mista Britannis !
Perdidit O qualem vincendo plura triumphum !
Non illum lætis vadentem cœtibus urbes,
Sed tacitæ vidêre metu. non constitit usquam
Obvia turba duci : gaudet tamen esse timori
Tam magno populis, et se non mallet amari.

Lib. IV. v. 96.

. . . . . Prô lucri pallida tabes !
Non deest prolato jejunus venditor auro.
Jam tumuli, collesque latent : jam flumina cuncta
Condidit una palus, vastaque voragine mersit.

. . . . . .

Non habeant amnes declivem ad littora cursum,
Sed pelagi referantur aquis : concussaque tellus
Laxet iter fluviis. hos campos Rhenus inundet,
Hos Rhodanus : vastos obliquent flumina fontes.
Rhiphæas huc solve nives, huc stagna, lacusque.

. . . . . .

Utque habuit ripas Sicoris, camposque reliquit,
Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano : sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,
Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.
His ratibus trajecta manus festinat utrinque,
Succisum curvare nemus : fluviique ferocis
Incrementa timens, non primis robora ripis
Imposuit : medios pontem distendit in agros.

CAIUS SILIUS ITALICUS.

(Temp. Neronis.)

Punicorum, Lib. III. Vers. 597.

Huic pater ignotum donavit vincere Thulen,
Inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos.

Lib. XVII. Vers. 415.

Fervidus ingenii Massinissa, et fervidus ævi,
In primus Macetum turmas immania membra
Infert, et jaculo circumvolat alite campum.
Cærulus haud aliter, quum dimicat, incola Thules
Agmina falcifero circumvenit arta covino.

CAIUS SECUNDUS PLINIUS.

(A.D. 79.)

Naturalis Historia, Lib. II. c. 67.

A Gadibus, columnisque Herculis, Hispaniæ et Galliarum circuitu, totus hodie navigatur occidens. Septemtrionalis vero Oceanus, majore ex parte navigatus est auspiciis Divi Augusti, Germaniam classe circumvecta ad Cimbrorum promontorium: et inde immenso mari prospecto, aut fama cognito, ad Scythicam plagam, et humore nimio rigentia. Propter quod minime verisimile est illic maria deficere, ubi humoris vis superet. Juxta vero ab ortu ex Indico mari, sub eodem sidere pars tota vergens in Caspium mare, pernavigata est Macedonum armis, Seleuco atque Antiocho regnantibus, qui et Seleucida atque Antiochida ab ipsis appellari voluere. Circa Caspium quoque multa Oceani litora explorata, parvoque brevius, quam

totus, hinc aut illinc Septemtrio eremigatus. Ut tamen conjecturæ locum sic quoque non relinquat, ingens argumentum paludis Mæoticæ, sive ea illius Oceani sinus est, ut multos adverto credidisse, sive angusto discreti situ restagnatio. Alio latere Gadium, ab eodem occidente, magna pars meridiani sinus ambitu Mauritaniæ navigatur hodie. Majorem quidem ejus partem, et Orientis, victoriæ Alexandri Magni lustraveris, usque in Arabicum Sinus. In quo res gerente C. Cæsare Augusti filio, signa navium ex Hispaniensium naufragiis feruntur agnita.

Lib. II. c. 67.

Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto: sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco. Præterea Nepos Cornelius auctor est, Eudoxum quendam sua ætate, cum Lathurum regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressum, Gades usque pervectum: multoque ante eum Cælius Antipater, vidisse se, qui navigasset ex Hispania in Æthiopiam commercii gratia. Idem Nepos de septemtrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, L. Afranii in Consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex India commercii causa navigantes, tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti. Sic maria circumfusa undique dividuo globo partem orbis auferunt nobis: nec inde huc, nec hinc illo pervio tractu. Quæ contemplatio apta detegendæ mortalium vanitati, poscere videtur, ut totum hoc, quidquid est, in quo singulis nihil satis est, ceu subjectum oculis, quantum sit ostendam.

Lib. II. c. 77, 78.

Sic fit, ut vario lucis incremento, in Meroë longissimus dies XII. horas æquinoctiales, et octo partes unius

horæ colligat: Alexandriæ vero XIV. horas: in Italia quindecim: in Britannia XVII.; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubie repromittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi; solstitii diebus accedente Sole propius verticem mundi, angusto lucis ambitu, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus; noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto. Quod fieri in insula Thule, Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britannia distante: quidam vero et in Mona, quæ distat a Camalduno Britanniæ oppido circiter ducentis millibus, affirmant.

Lib. II. c. 99.

Octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere æstus Pytheas Massiliensis auctor est.

Lib. IV. c. 23.

Portus Morinorum Britannia.

Lib. IV. c. 29, 30.

In Rheno ipso, prope centum M. pass. in longitudinem, nobilissima Batavorum insula, et Cannenufatum: et aliæ Frisiorum, Chaucorum, Frisiabonum, Sturiorum, Marsaciorum, quæ sternuntur inter Helium ac Flevum. Ita appellantur ostia, in quæ effusus Rhenus, ab septemtrione in lacus, ab occidente in amnem Mosam se spargit: medio inter hæc ore, modicum nomini suo custodiens alveum.

Ex adverso hujus situs Britannia insula, clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis, inter septemtrionem et occidentem jacet: Germaniæ, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, multo maximis Europæ partibus magno intervallo adversa. Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniæ vocarentur omnes: de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Hæc abest a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis litore, proximo trajectu quinquaginta M., circuitu vero patere tricies octies centena viginti quinque

M. Pytheas et Isidorus tradunt: triginta prope jam annis notitiam ejus Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvæ Caledoniæ propagantibus. Agrippa longitudinem DCCC. M. pass. esse: latitudinem CCC. M. credit. Eandem Hiberniæ latitudinem; sed longitudinem CC. M. passuum minorem. Super eam hæc sita abest brevissimo transitu a Silurum gente XXX. M. pass. Reliquarum nulla CXXV. M. circuitu amplior proditur. Sunt autem XL. Orcades, modicis inter se discretæ spatiis. Septem Acmodæ, et XXX. Hæbudes: et inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam, Mona, Monapia, Ricina, Vectis, Limnus, Andros. Infra vero Siambis, et Axantos. Et ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thule: in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancri signum Sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidam senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur. Timæus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos: maximamque omnium Nerigon, ex qua in Thulen navigetur. A Thule unius dici navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur . . . Gallia Comata in tria populorum genera dividitur. A Scaldi Toxandri incolunt. Deinde Menapii, Morini, juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur; *Britanni*, Bellovaci, Introrsus Castologi, Atrebates, &c. &c. . . . .

Lib. IV. c. 33.

Maria circa oram: ad Rhenum septemtrionalis Oceanus, inter Rhenum et Sequanam Britannicus, inter eum et Pyrenæum Gallicus. . . . . Polybius latitudinem Europæ ab Italia ad Oceanum scripsit $\overline{\text{XI}}$. millia quinquaginta

esse, etiam tum incomperta magnitudine ejus. Est autem ipsius Italiæ, $\overline{\text{XII}}$. XX. millia ad Alpes. Unde per Lugdunum ad portum Morinorum Britannicum, quo videtur mensuram agere Polybius $\overline{\text{XI}}$. millia LXVIII.

Lib. VII. c. 57.

Plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus apportavit Midacritus.

Lib. VII. c. 57.

Nave primus in Græciam ex Ægypto Danaus advenit: antea ratibus navigabatur, inventis in mari Rubro inter insulas a rege Erythra. Reperiuntur, qui Mysos et Trojanos priores excogitasse in Hellesponto putent, cum transirent adversus Thracas. Etiam nunc in Britannico oceano vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt: in Nilo ex papyro, et scirpo, et arundine.

Lib. IX. c. 56, 57.

Namque et Juba tradit, Arabicis concham esse similem pectini insecto, hirsutam echinorum modo; ipsum unionem in carne, grandini similem. Conchæ non tales ad nos afferuntur. Nec in Acarnania autem laudati reperiuntur, enormes et feri, colorisque marmorei. Meliores circa Actium, sed et hi parvi: et in Mauritaniæ maritimis. Alexander Polyhistor et Sudines senescere eos putant, coloremque exspirare.

Eorum corpus solidum esse manifestum est, quod nullo lapsu franguntur. Non autem semper in media carne reperiuntur, sed aliis atque aliis locis. Vidimusque jam in extremis etiam marginibus velut concha exeuntes: et in quibusdam quaternos quinosque. Pondus ad hoc ævi semunciæ pauci singulis scrupulis excessere. In Britannia

parvos atque decolores nasci certum est: quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri Genitrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi.

Lib. x. c. 29.

Anserini generis sunt chenalopeces: et quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, chenerotes, fere ansere minores. Decet tetraonas suus nitor, absolutaque nigritia, in superciliis cocci rubor.

Lib. xv. c. 30.

Cerasi ante victoriam Mithridaticam L. Luculli non fuere in Italia. Ad Urbis annum DCLXXX. is primum vexit e Ponto: annisque CXX. trans Oceanum in Britanniam usque pervenere.

Lib. xvi. c. 95.

Non est omittenda in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant magos) visco, et arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græca possint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quidquid adnascatur illis, e cælo missum putant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magna religione petitur: et ante omnia sexta Luna, quæ principia mensium annorumque his facit, et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat, nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit: falce aurea demetit: candido id excipitur sago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes, ut suum donum deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Fœcunditatem eo poto dari cuicunque animalium sterili arbitran-

tur: contra venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium inrebus frivolis plerumque religio est.

Lib. xvii. c. 3, 4.

Et in frugibus quidem ferendis eadem terra utilior intelligitur, quoties intermissa cultura quievit; quod in vineis non fit. Eoque diligentius eligenda est, ne vera exsistat opinio eorum, qui jam Italiæ terram existima vere lassam. Operis quidem facultas in aliis generibus constat et cælo: nec potest arari post imbres aliqua, ubertatis vitio lentescens. Contra, in Byzacio Africæ illum centena quinquagena fruge fertilem campum, nullis cum siccus est, arabilem tauris, post imbres vili asello, et a parte altera jugi, anu vomerem trahente, vidimus scindi. Terram enim terra emendari (ut aliqui præcipiunt) super tenuem pingui injecta, aut gracili bibulaque super humidam ac præpinguem, dementia operæ est. Quid potest sperare qui talem colit?

Alia est ratio, quam Britannia et Gallia invenere alendi eam ipsa: quod genus vocant margam. Spissior ubertas in ea intelligitur. Est autem quidam terræ adeps ac velut glandia in corporibus, ibi densante se pinguitudinis nucleo. Non omisere et hoc Græci: quid enim intentatum illis? Leucargillon vocant candidam argillam, qua in Megarico agro utuntur, sed tantum in humida frigidaque terra.

Illam Gallias Britanniasque locupletantem cum cura dici convenit. Duo genera fuerant. Plura nuper exerceri cœpta proficientibus ingeniis. Est enim alba, rufa, columbina, argillacea, tofacea, arenacea. Natura duplex: aspera, aut pinguis. Experimenta utriusque in manus: ususque geminus, aut ut fruges tantum alant, aut edant et pabulum. Fruges alit tofacea alba, quæ si sit inter fontes reperta, est ad infinitum fertilis: verum aspera tractatu, et si nimia injecta est, exurit solum. Proxima est rufa, quæ vocatur acaunumarga, intermixto lapide terræ minutæ, arenosæ. Lapis contunditur in ipso campo: primisque annis stipula difficulter cæditur, propter lapides. Impendio tamen minimo levitate,

dimidio minoris quam ceteræ, invehitur. Inspergitur rara: sale eam misceri putant. Utrumque hoc genus semel injectum in quinquaginta annos valet, et frugum et pabuli ubertate.

Quæ pingues esse sentiuntur, ex his præcipua alba. Plura ejus genera. Mordacissimum, quod supra diximus. Alterum genus albæ cretæ argentaria est. Petitur ex alto, in centenos pedes actis plerumque puteis, ore angustatis: intus, ut in metallis, spatiante vena. Hac maxime Britannia utitur.* Durat annis LXXX. Neque est exemplum ullius, qui bis in vita hanc eidem injecerit. Tertium genus candidæ, glyssomargam vocant.

Lib. XXII. c. 1.

Equidem et formæ gratiâ, ritusque perpetui in corporibus suis aliqua exterarum gentium uti herbis quibusdam adverto animum. Illinunt certe aliis aliæ faciem in populis Barbarorum fæminæ, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt. Simile plantagini *glastum* in Gallia vocatur, quo Britannorum conjuges, nurusque toto corpore oblitæ, quibusdam in sacris, et nudæ incidunt, Æthiopum colorem imitantes.

Lib. XXIV. c. 62.

Similis herbæ huic Sabinæ est selago appellata. Legitur sine ferro dextra manu per tunicam, qua sinistra exuitur velut a furante, candida veste vestito, pureque lotis nudis pedibus, sacro facto prius quam legatur, pane vinoque. Fertur in mappa nova. Hanc contra omnem perniciem habendam prodidere Druidæ Gallorum, et contra omnia oculorum vitia fumum ejus prodesse.

Lib. XXV. c. 6.

Insanabilis ad hosce annos fuit rabidi canis morsus, pavorem aquæ potusque omnis afferens odium. Nuper cujusdam

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* *Vide* Inscript. Nehellenicam, *infra*.

militantis in prætoria mater vidit in quiete, ut radicem silvestris rosæ, quam cynorrhodon vocant, blanditam sibi aspectu pridie in frutecto, mitteret filio bibendam: in Lacetania res gerebatur, Hispaniæ proxima parte: casuque accidit, ut milite a morsu canis incipiente aquas expavescere, superveniret epistola orantis ut pareret religioni: servatusque est ex insperato, et postea quisquis auxilium simile tentavit. Alias apud auctores cynorrhodi una medicina erat: spongiolæ, quæ in mediis spinis ejus nascitur, cinere cum melle, alopecias capitis expleri. In eadem provincia cognovi in agro hospitis nuper ibi repertum dracunculum appellatum caulum, pollicari crassitudine, versicoloribus viperarum maculis, quem ferebant contra omnium morsus esse remedio: alium, quam quos in priori volumine ejusdem nominis diximus: sed huic alia figura, aliudque miraculum, exserentis se terra ad primas serpentium vernationes, bipedali fere altitudine, rursusque cum iisdem in terram condentis: nec omnino occultato eo apparet serpens: vel hoc per se satis officioso naturæ munere, si tantum præmoneret, tempusque formidinis demonstraret.

Nec bestiarum solum ad nocendum scelera sunt, sed interim aquarum quoque ac locorum. In Germania trans Rhenum castris a Germanico Cæsare promotis, maritimo tractu fons erat aquæ dulcis solus qua pota intra biennium dentes deciderent, compagesque in genibus solverentur. Stomacacen medici vocabant, et sceletyrben, ea mala. Reperta auxilio est herba, quæ vocatur Britannica, non nervis modo et oris malis salutaris, sed contra anginas quoque, et contra serpentes. Folia habet oblonga nigra, radicem nigram. Succus ejus exprimitur et ex radice. Florem vibones vocant; qui collectus prius, quam tonitrua audiantur, et devoratus, securos in totum reddit. Frisii, qua castra erant, nostris demonstravere illam: mirorque nominis causam: nisi forte confines Oceano Britanniæ, velut propinquæ, dicavere. Non enim inde appellatam

eam, quoniam ibi plurima nasceretur, certum est, etiamnum Britanniä libera.

Lib. xxvii. c. 1.

Crescit profecto apud me certe tractatu ipso admiratio antiquitatis: quantoque major copia herbarum dicenda restat, tanto magis adorare priscorum in inveniendo curam, in tradendo benignitatem subit. Nec dubie superata hoc modo posset videri etiam rerum naturæ ipsius munificentia, si humani operis esset inventio. Nunc vero deorum fuisse eam apparet, aut certe divinam, etiam cum homo inveniret: eandemque omnium parentum et genuisse hæc, et ostendisse, nullo vitæ miraculo majore, si verum fateri volumus. Scythicam herbam a Mæotis paludibus, et euphorbiam e monte Atlante ultraque Herculis columnas: et ipso rerum naturæ defectu, parte alia Britannicam ex Oceani insulis extra terras positis, itemque Æthiopidem ab exusto sideribus axe: alias præterea aliunde ultro citroque humanæ saluti in toto orbe portari, immensa Romanæ pacis majestate, non homines modo diversis inter se terris gentibusque, verum etiam montes et excedentia in nubes juga, partusque eorum et herbas quoque invicem ostentante. Æternum, quæso, deorum sit munus istud. Adeo Romanos, velut alteram lucem, dedisse rebus humanis videntur.

Lib. xxx. c. 1.

Magicas vanitates sæpius quidem antecedente operis parte, ubicunque causæ locusque poscebant, coarguimus, detegemusque etiamnum: in paucis tamen digna res est, de qua plura dicantur, vel eo ipso quod fraudulentissima artium plurimum in toto terrarum orbe, plurimisque seculis valuit. Auctoritatem ei maximam fuisse nemo miretur, quandoquidem solo artium tres alias imperiosissimas humanæ mentis complexa in unam se redigit. Natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat, ac specie salutari irrepsisse velut altiorem sanctioremque medicinam: ita blandissimis de-

sideratissimisque promissis addidisse vi res religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus. Atque ut hoc quoque suggesserit, miscuisse artes mathematicas, nullo non avido futura de sese sciendi, atque ea e cœlo verissime peti credente. Ita possessis hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigii adolevit, ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, et in Oriente regum regibus imperet.

Ib. c. 4.

Gallias utique possedit, et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum, et hoc genus vatum medicorumque. Sed quid ego hæc commemorem in arte Oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis cærimoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. Adeo ista toto mundo consensere, quanquam discordi et sibi ignoto. Nec satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.

Lib. xxxiii. c. 6.

Non signat Oriens aut Ægyptus etiam nunc, literis contenta solis. Multis hoc modis, ut cetera omnia, luxuria variavit, gemmas addendo exquisiti fulgoris, censuque opimo digitos onerando, sicut dicemus in gemmarum volumine: mox et effigies varias cælando, ut alibi ars, alibi materia esset in pretio. Alias deinde gemmas violari nefas putavit: ac ne quis signandi causam in aulis esse intelligeret, solidas induit. Quasdam vero neque ab ea parte quæ digito occultatur, auro clusit, aurumque millibus lapillorum vilius fecit. Contra vero multi nullas admittunt gemmas, auroque ipso signant: id Claudii Cæsaris principatu repertum. Nec non et servitia jam ferrum auro cingunt: alia per sese mero auro decorant: cujus licentiæ origo nomine ipso in Samothrace id institutum declarat. Singulis primo digitis geri

mos fuerat, qui sunt minimis proximi: sic in Numæ et Servii Tullii statuis videmus. Postea pollici proximo induere, etiam deorum simulacris: dein juvit et minimo dare. Galliæ Britanniæque in medio dicuntur usæ.

Lib. xxxiv. c. 47, 48 & 49.

Sequitur natura plumbi. Cujus duo genera, nigrum, atque candidum. Pretiosissimum candidum, a Græcis appellatum cassiteron, fabuloseque narratum in insulas Atlantici maris peti, vitilibusque navigiis circumsutis corio advehi. Nunc certum est, in Lusitania gigni, et in Gallæcia; summa tellure arenosa, et coloris nigri: pondere tantum ea deprehenditur. Interveniunt et minuti calculi, maxime torrentibus siccatis. Lavant eas arenas metallici, et quod subsidit, coquunt in fornacibus. Invenitur et in aurariis metallis, quæ aluta vocant: aqua immissa eluente calculos nigros paulum candore variatos, quibus eadem gravitas quæ auro: et ideo in calathis, in quibus aurum colligitur, remanent cum eo: postea caminis separantur, conflatique in album plumbum resolventur. Non fit in Gallæcia nigrum, cum vicina Cantabria nigro tantum abundet: nec ex albo argentum, cum fiat ex nigro. Jungi inter se plumbum nigrum sine albo non potest, nec hoc ei sine oleo. Ac ne album quidem secum sine nigro. Album habuit auctoritatem et Iliacis temporibus, teste Homero, cassiteron ab illo dictum.

Plumbi nigri origo duplex est: aut enim sua provenit vena, nec quidquam aliud ex se parit: aut cum argento nascitur, mixtisque venis conflatur. Ejus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor, stannum appellatur: qui secundus, argentum: quod remansit in fornacibus, galena, quæ est portio additæ venæ. Hæc rursus conflata, dat nigrum plumbum deductis partibus duabus.

Stannum illitum æneis vasis, saporem gratiorem facit, et compescit æruginis virus: mirumque, pondus non auget.

Specula quoque ex eo laudatissima, ut diximus, Brundisii temperabantur, donec argenteis uti cœpere et ancillæ. Nunc adulteratur stannum addita æris candidi tertia portione in plumbum album. Fit et alio modo: mixtis albi plumbi nigrique libris. Hoc nunc aliqui argentarium appellant. Iidem et tertiarium vocant, in quo duæ nigri portiones sunt, et tertia albi. Pretium ejus in libras x.x. Hoc fistulæ solidantur. Improbiores ad tertiarium additis æquis partibus albi, argentarium vocant, et eo quæ volunt incoquunt. Pretia hujus faciunt in pondo c.lx.x. Albo per se sincero pretia sunt x.x., nigro septem. Albi natura plus aridi habet: contraque nigri tota humida est. Ideo album nulli rei sine mixtura utile est. Neque argentum ex eo plumbatur, quoniam prius liquescit argentum. Confirmant, quod si minus albo nigri, quam satis sit, misceatur, erodi ab eo argentum. Album incoquitur æreis operibus Galliarum invento, ita ut vix discerni possit ab argento, eaque incoctilia vocant. Deinde et argentum incoquere simili modo cœpere equorum maxime ornamentis jumentorumque jugis, in Alexia oppido: reliqua gloria Biturigum fuit. Cœpere deinde et esseda, et vehicula, et petorita exornare: similique modo ad aurea quoque, non modo argentea, staticula inanis luxuria pervenit: quæque in scyphis cerni prodigiu m erat, hæc in vehiculis atteri, cultus vocatur. Plumbi albi experimentum in charta est, ut liquefactum pondere videatur, non calore, rupisse. India neque æs neque plumbum habet, gemmisque suis ac margaritis hæc permutat.

Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminasque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto, totasque per Gallias: sed in Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat. Nigri generibus hæc sunt nomina: Ovetanum, Caprariense, Oleastrense. Nec differentia ulla scoriæ, modo sit excocta diligenter. Mirumque in his solis metallis, quod derelicta fertilius revivescunt. Hoc videtur facere laxatis spiramentis ad satietatem infusus aër, æque ut

feminas quasdam fœcundiores facere abortus. Nuper id compertum in Bætica Santarensi metallo, quod locari solitum XCCM. annuis, postquam obliteratum erat, CCLV. locatum est. Simili modo Antonianum in eadem provincia pari locatione pervenit ad pondo CCCC. vectigalis. Et mirum, aqua addita non liquescere vasa e plumbo constat: eadem in aqua calculus æreusve quadrans si addatur, vas peruri.

Lib. XXXVII. c. 11.

Sotacus credidit electrum in Britannia petris effluere, quas electridas vocat. Pytheas Guttonibus Germaniæ genti accoli æstuarium Oceani, Mentonomon nomine, spatio stadiorum sex millium: ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum: illuc vere fluctibus advehi, et esse concreti maris purgamentum: incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo, proximisque Teutonis vendere. Huic et Timæus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit. Philemon ait flammam ab electro reddi. Nicias Solis radiorum succum intelligi voluit. Hos circa occasum credit vehementiores in terram actos, pinguem sudorum in ea parte Oceani relinquere, deinde æstatibus in Germanorum litora ejici.

PUBLIUS PAPINIUS STATIUS.

(Temp. Vespasiani et Domitiani, et vide Juvenalem, Sat. VII. vers. 83.)

Sylvarum, Lib. III. 5. Ad Claudiam Uxorem, vers. 15.

. . . . . nec rapidi mulcent te prælia Circi,
Aut intrat sensus clamosi turba theatri;
Sed probitas, et opaca quies, et sordida nunquam
Gaudia. Quas autem comitem te rapto per undas?
Quanquam et si gelidas irem mansurus ad Arctos,
Vel super Hesperiæ vada caligantia Thules,
Aut septemgemini caput haud penetrabile Nili,
Hortarere vias.

Lib. IV. 4. Hortatur Marcellum ut Studia intermittat. Vers. 56.

At tu si longi cursum dabit Atropos ævi, . . .
Forsitan Ausonias ibis frenare cohortes,
Aut Rheni populos, aut nigræ littora Thules.

Lib. V. 1. Abascantii in Priscillam Pietas, vers. 1.

Si manus, aut similes docilis mihi fingere ceros,
Aut ebur, impressis aurumve animare figuris,
Hinc, Priscilla, tuo solatia grata marito
Conciperem . . . . . .
Nos tibi, laudati juvenis rarissima conjux
Tentamas dare justa lyrâ . . . . . .
Si Babylonis opes . . . dares, mallet cum paupertate pudica
Intemerata mori, vitamque impendere famæ.
. . . . . Ille subactis
Molem immensam humeris, et vix tractabile pondus
Imposuit . . . . Magnum late dimittere in orbem
Imperii tractare manu mandata : quantum ultimus orbis
Cesserit, et refluo circumsona gurgite Thule.

Lib. V. 2. Protrepticon, ad Crispinum, vers. 53.

[Statius hortatur Amicum ad æmulationem virtutis paternæ ; denique prædicit futuros militiæ honores.]

. . . . . Aliis Decii reducesque Camilli
Monstrentur : tu disce patrem ; quantusque nigrantem
Fluctibus occiduis, fessoque Hyperione Thulen
Intrarit mandata gerens ; . . . . . .
Imperium mulcente togâ : bibe talia pronis
Auribus . . . . . .

Quasnam igitur terras, quem Cæsaris ibis in orbem?
Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
Hic suetus dare jura parens; hoc cespite turmas
Affari: vigiles speculas, castellaque longe
Prospicis? ille dedit; cinxitque hæc mœnia fossa.
Belligeris hæc dona Deis, hæc tela dicavit:
Cernis adhuc titulos: hunc ipse, vocantibus armis
Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.
. . . . . .
Vade, puer, tantisque enixus suffice donis.
Felix, qui magno jam nunc sub præside juras,
Cuique sacer primumtradit Germanicus ensem!
. . Vade alacer, majoraque disce mereri.

M. VALERIUS MARTIALIS.

(43 A. D.; 104 A. D.)

De Spectaculis. Pœna Laureoli. VII.

Qualiter in Scythica religatus rupe Prometheus
Assiduam nimio pectore pavit avem:
Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso,
Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus.
Vivebant laceri membris stillantibus artus,
Inque omni nusquam corpore corpus erat.
Denique supplicium dederat necis ille paternæ,
Vel domini jugulum foderat ense nocens;
Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro;
Subdiderat sævas vel tibi Roma faces.
Vicerat antiquæ sceleratus crimina famæ,
In quo, quæ fuerat fabula, pœna fuit.

Epigrammatum, Lib. IV.

Ep. XIII. Ad Rufum, De Nuptiis Pudentis et Claudiæ.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti :
Macte esto tedis, o Hymenæe, tuis.
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis.
Nec melius teneris junguntur vitibus ulmi,
Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.
Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,
Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo.
Diligat illa senem quondam : sed et ipsa marito,
Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

Lib. X. Ep. XLIV. Ad. Q. Ovidium.

Quincte Caledonias Ovidi visure Britannos,
Et viridem Tethyn, Oceanumque patrem :
Ergo Numæ colles, et Nomentana relinques
Otia ? nec retinet rusque focusque senem ?

Lib. XI. Ep. IV. De suis Libellis.

Non urbana mea tantum Pimpleide gaudent
Otia, nec vacuis auribus ista damus :
Sed meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis
A rigido teritur centurione liber.
Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus.
Quid prodest ? nescit sacculus ista meus.
Ad quam victuras poteramus pangere chartas,
Quantaque Pieria prælia flare tuba ;
Cum pia reddiderint Augustum numina terris,
Et Mecœnatem si mihi Roma daret !

Ep. xxi. In Lydiam.

Lydia tam laxa est . . . . . .
. . . . . quam veteres brachæ Britonis pauperis.

Ep. liii. De Claudia Rufina.

Claudia cæruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
  Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres
  Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Dî bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,
  Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
  Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

Lib. xii. Ep. viii. In Commendationem Trajani.

Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma,
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum,
Trajani modo læta cum futuros
Tot per secula computaret annos;
Et fortem, juvenemque, Martiumque
In tanto duce militem videret:
Dixit præside gloriosa tali:
Parthorum proceres, ducesque Serum,
Thraces, Sauromatæ, Getæ, Britanni,
Possum ostendere Cæsarem, Venite.

Lib. xiv. Ep. xcix. Bascauda.

Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis;
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam.

Spectaculorum, Lib. III. De Gentium Confluxu et Congratulatione.

[Ex omni orbis parte (ad quam Rom. populi nomen pervenerat) confluxisse gentes spectandi ludos, salutandique Cæsaris studio: generalique acclamatione illum Patrem Patriæ salutasse.]

Quæ tam seposita est, quæ gens tam barbara, Cæsar,
  Ex qua spectator non sit in urbe tua?
Venit ab Orpheo culto Rodopeius Hæmo,
  Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo;
Et qui prima bibit deprensi flumina Nili,
  Et quem suprema Tethyos unda ferit.
Festinavit Arabs; festinavere Sabæi;
  Et Cilices nimbis hic maduere suis.
Crinibus in nodum tortis venire Sicambri,
  Atque aliter tortis crinibus Æthiopes.
Vox diversa sonat: populorum est vox tamen una,
  Cum verus Patriæ diceris esse Pater.

DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS.

(A.D. 120.)

Sat. II. v. 149—170.

Esse aliquos Manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia cymbâ,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.
Sed tu vera puta. Curius quid sentit, et ambo
Scipiadæ? quid Fabricius, manesque Camilli?
Quid Cremeræ legio, et Cannis consumpta juventus?
Tot bellorum animæ! Quoties hinc talis ad illos
Umbra venit, cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur
Sulphura cum tædis, et si foret humida laurus.

Illuc, heu ! miseri traducimur: arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minimâ contentos nocte Britannos.
Sed quæ nunc populi fiunt victoris in urbe,
Non faciunt illi quos vicimus: et tamen unus
Armenius Zalates cunctis narratur ephebis
Mollior ardenti sese indulsisse Tribuno.
Aspice quid faciant commercia ! venerat obses:
Hic fiunt homines: nam si mora longior urbem
Indulsit pueris, non unquam deerit amator:
Mittentur braccæ, cultelli, fræna, flagellum:
Sic prætextatos referunt Artaxata mores.

Sat. IV. v. 123—143.

Non cedit Veiento; sed ut fanaticus œstro
Percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat, et Ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi:
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus: peregrina est bellua: cernis
Erectas in terga sudes ? Hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret, et annos.
Quidnam igitur censes ? conciditur ? Absit ab illo
Dedecus hoc, Montanus ait: testa alta paretur,
Quæ tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem;
Debetur magnus patinæ subitusque Prometheus:
Argillam atque rotam citius properate: sed ex hoc
Tempore jam, Cæsar, figuli tua castra sequantur.
Vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
Luxuriam imperii veterem, noctesque Neronis
Jam, medias, aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
Arderet; nulli major fuitusus edendi
Tempestate meâ. Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo

Ostrea, calebat primo deprendere morsu
Et semel aspecti littus dicebat echini.

Sat. x. v. 1—18.

Omnibus in terris quæ sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangem, pauci dignoscere possunt.
Vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remotâ
Erroris nebulâ : quid enim ratione timemus
Aut cupimus ? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
Conatûs non pœniteat, votique peracti ?
Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
Dî faciles : nocitura togâ, nocitura petuntur
Militiâ. Torrens dicendi copia multis,
Et sua mortifera est facundia. Viribus ille
Confisus periit admirandisque lacertis.
Sed plures nimiâ congesta pecunia curâ
Strangulat, et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census,
Quanto delphinis balæna Britannica major.
Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis,
Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors ; rarus venit in cœnacula miles.

Sat. xv. v. 72—140.

. . . . . Postquam
Subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
Audet, et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis :
Terga fugæ celeri præstantibus hostibus instant,
Qui vicina colunt umbrosæ Tentyra palmæ.
Labitur hic quidam nimia formidine cursum
Præcipitans, capiturque : ast illum in plurima sectum
Frusta ac particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
Sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit

Victrix turba : nec ardenti decoxit aheno,
Aut verubus ; longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
Expectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
Hinc gaudere libet, quod non violaverit ignem,
Quem summa cœli raptum de parte Prometheus
Donavit terris : elemento gratulor, et te
Exultare reor. Sed qui mordere cadaver
Sustinuit, nihil unquam hâc carne libentius edit.
Nam scelere in tanto ne quæras, aut dubites, an
Prima voluptatem gula senserit : ultimus autem
Qui stetit absumpto jam toto corpore, ductis
Per terram digitis, aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, ut fama est, alimentis talibus usi
Produxere animas ; sed res diversa : sed illic
Fortunæ invidia est, bellorumque ultima, casus
Extremi, longæ dira obsidionis egestas.
Hujus enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
Exemplum esse cibi : sicut modo dicta mihi gens
Post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quicquid
Cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
Pallorem, ac maciem, et tenues miserantibus artus,
Membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati
Et sua : quisnam hominum veniam dare, quisve deorum,
Viribus abnuerit dira atque immania passis ;
Et quibus ipsorum poterant ignoscere manes,
Quorum corporibus vescebantur ? Melius nos
Zenonis præcepta monent : nec enim omnia, quædam
Pro vitâ facienda putat : sed Cantaber unde
Stoicus, antiqui præsertim ætate Metelli ?
Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos :
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.
Nobilis ille tamen populus, quem diximus ; et par
Virtute atque fide, sed major clade, Saguntus
Tale quid excusat. Mœotide sævior arâ

Ægyptus: quippe illi nefandi Taurica sacri
Inventrix homines (ut jam, quæ carmina tradunt,
Digna fide credas), tantum immolat; ulterius nil
Aut gravius cultro timet hostia. Quis modo casus
Impulit hos? quæ tanta fames, infestaque vallo
Arma coëgerunt tam detestabile monstrum
Audere? Anne aliam, terrâ Memphitide siccâ,
Invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?
Qua nec terribile Cimbri, nec Brittones unquam,
Sauromatæque truces, aut immanes Agathyrsi,
Hâc sævit rabie, imbelle et inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.
Nec pœnam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
Supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
Et similes ira atque fames. Mollissima corda
Humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
Quæ lachrymas dedit: hæc nostri pars optima sensus.
Plorare ergo jubet casum lugentis amici,
Squalloremque rei, pupillum ad jura vocantem
Circumscriptorem, cujus manantia fletu
Ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli,
Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terrâ clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi. . . . . .

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS.

(56 A.D.; 125 A.D.)

Annal. lib. XII. c. 31-40.

In Britannia P. Ostorium proprætorem turbidæ res excepere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus, eo violentius, quod novum ducem exercitu ignoto, et cœpta hieme, iturum obviam non rebantur. Ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni, citas cohortes rapit: et cæsis qui resti-

terunt, disjectos consectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur, infensaque et infida pax non duci non militi requiem permitteret; detrahere arma suspectis, cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat. Quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens, nec prœliis contusi, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant. hisque auctoribus circumjectæ nationes locum pugnæ delegere, septum agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. Ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere aggreditur, et distributis cohortibus, turmas quoque, peditum ad munia accingit. Tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem, suisque claustris impeditos turbant. Atque illi conscientia rebellionis, et obseptis effugiis, multa et clara facinora fecere. Qua pugna filius legati M. Ostorius servati civis decus meruit.

Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant: et ductus in Cangos exercitus. Vastati agri, prædæ passim actæ; non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carpere agmen tentarent; punito dolo. Jamque ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat: cum ortæ apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxere ducem, destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis. Et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma cœptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere: Silurum gens, non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camalodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

Itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam, Caractaci viribus confisos: quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores præmineret. Sed tum astu, locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in Ordovicas, additisque qui pacem nostram metuebant, novissimum casum experitur, sumpto ad præ-

lium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis importuna, et suis in melius essent. Tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa præstruit: et præfluebat amnis vado incerto, catervaque majorum pro munimentis constiterant.

Ad hoc gentium ductores circumire, hortari, firmare animos, minuendo metu,accendendo spe, aliisque belli incitamentis. Enimvero Caractacus huc illuc volitans, illum diem, illam aciem testabatur, aut reciperandæ libertatis, aut servitutis æternæ, initiumfore. vocabatque nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Cæsarem pepulissent: quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis intemerata conjugum et liberorum corpora retinerent. Hæc atque talia dicenti, adstrepere vulgus gentili quisque religione obstringi, non telis, non vulneribus cessuros.

Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum; simul objectus amnis additum vallum, imminentia juga, nihil nisi atrox et propugnatoribus frequens, terrebat. Sed miles prœlium poscere, cuncta virtute expugnabilia clamitare, præfectique ac tribuni paria disserentes, ardorem exercitus incendebant. Tum Ostorius, circumspectis quæ impenetrabilia, quæque pervia, ducit infensos, amnemque haud difficulter evadit. Ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos, et pleræque cædes oriebantur. Posteaquam facta testudine, rudes et informes saxorum compages distractæ, parque cominus acies, decedere Barbari in juga montium. Sed eo quoque irrupere ferentarius gravisque miles: illi telis assultantes; hi conferto gradu, turbatis contra Britannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve tegmina: et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legionariorum; si huc verterent, spatis et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur clara ea victoria fuit, captaque uxore et filia Caractaci, fratres quoque in deditionem accepti.

Ipse (ut ferme intuta sunt adversa) cum fidem Cartisman-

duæ reginæ Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia cœptum. Unde fama ejus evecta insulas, et proximas provincias pervagata, per Italiam quoque celebrabatur: avebantque visere, quis ille tot per annos opes nostras sprevisset. Ne Romæ quidem ignobile Caractaci nomen erat. et Cæsar dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam victo. Vocatus quippe ut ad insigne spectaculum populus. Stetere in armis prætoriæ cohortes, campo qui castra præjacet. Tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis phaleræ torquesque, quæque externis bellis quæsierat, traducta; mox fratres et conjunx et filia: postremo ipse ostentatus. Ceterorum preces degeneres fuere, ex metu. At non Caractacus aut vultu demisso, aut verbis misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali astitit, in hunc modum loquutus est:

" Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset; amicus potius in hanc urbem, quam captus venissem: neque dedignatus esses claris majoribus ortum, pluribus gentibus imperitantem fœdere pacis accipere. Præsens sors mea, ut mihi informis; sic tibi magnifica est. habui equos, viros, arma, opes. quid mirum, si hæc invitus amisi? Num si vos omnibus imperitare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant? Si statim deditus traderer; neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria inclaruisset; et supplicium mei oblivio sequeretur. at si incolumem servaveris, æternum exemplar clementiæ ero." Ad ea Cæsar veniam ipsique, et conjugi, et fratribus, tribuit. Atque illi vinclis exsoluti, Agrippinam quoquehaud procul alio suggestu conspicuam, iisdem quibus principem laudibus gratibusque venerati sunt. novum sane, et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis præsidere. ipsa semet parti a majoribus suis imperii sociam ferebat.

Vocati posthac patres, multa et magnifica super captivitate Caractaci disseruere; neque minus id clarum, quam cum Siphacem P. Scipio, Persem L. Paulus, et si qui alii

vinctos reges populo Rom. ostendere. Censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia; prosperis ad id rebus ejus, mox ambiguis; sive quod amoto Caractaco, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit; sive hostes miseratione tanti regis, acrius ad ultionem exarsere. Præfectum castrorum, et legionarias cohortes exstruendis apud Siluras præsidiis relictas, circumfundunt. Ac ni cito vicis et castellis proximis subventum foret; copiæ tum occidione occubuissent. Præfectus tamen et octo centuriones, ac promptissimus quisque manipulus cecidere. nec multo post pabulantis nostros, ipsasque missas ad subsidium turmas profligant.

Tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas exposuit: nec ideo fugam sistebat, ni legiones prœlium excepissent. earum robore æquata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. effugere hostes tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies. Crebra hinc prœlia, et sæpius in modum latrocinii: per saltus, per paludes; ut cuique sors, aut virtus: temere, proviso; ob iram, ob prædam; jussu, et aliquando ignaris ducibus. ac præcipua Silurum pervicacia, quos accendebat vulgata imperatoris Rom. vox; ut quondam Sugambri excisi, et in Gallias trajecti forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus exstinguendum. Igitur duas auxiliares cohortes, avaritia præfectorum incautius populantes, intercepere. spoliaque et captivos largiendo, ceteras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant; cum tædio curarum fessus Ostorius, concessit vita; lætis hostibus, tamquam ducem haud spernendum, et si non prœlium, at certe bellum, absumpsisset.

At Cæsar, cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit. Is propere vectus, non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens præerat. auctaque et apud hostes ejusrei fama, quo venientem ducem exterrerent; atque illo augente audita, ut major laus compositis, vel si duravissent, venia justior tribueretur. Silures id quoque damnum intulerant,

lateque persultabant, donec accursu Didii pellerentur. Sed post captum Caractacum, præcipuus scientia rei militaris Venusius e Jugantum civitate, ut supra memoravi, fidusque diu, et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartismanduam reginam matrimonio teneret, mox orto dissidio, et statim bello, etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat. Sed primo tantum inter ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartismandua artibus, fratrem ac propinquos Venusii intercepit. Inde accensi hostes, stimulante ignominia, ne feminæ imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis juventus regnum ejus invadunt. quod nobis prævisum, et missæ auxilio cohortes acre prœlium fecere, cujus initio ambiguo, finis lætior fuit. Neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Cesius Nasica præerat. Nam Didius senectute gravis, et multa copia honorum, per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat. Hæc, quamquam a duobus, Ostorio Didioque proprætoribus plures per annos gesta, conjunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent.

Lib. XIV. c. 29–39.

Cæsonio Pæto, Petronio Turpiliano, Coss. gravis clades in Britannia accepta. In qua neque Avitus legatus, ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius, modicis excursibus Siluras populatus, quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est : magna dum vixit severitatis fama, supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus. quippe multa in Neronem adulatione, addidit, subjecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset. Sed tum Paullinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiæ, et rumore populi, qui neminem sine æmulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator : receptæque Armeniæ decus æquare domitis perduellibus cupiens. Igitur Monam insulam incolis validam, et receptaculum perfugarum, aggredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo, adversus breve litus et incertum.

Sic pedites equites vado secuti aut altiores inter undas, adnantes equis trmieansser.

Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis : in modum Furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, preces diras sublatis ad cælum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites, ut quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri. nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant. Hæc agenti Suetonio, repentina defectio provinciæ nunciatur.

Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæsarem hæredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnum et domum suam procul injuria fore : quod contravertit ; adeo utregnum, per centuriones, domus per servos, velut capta vastarentur. Jam primum uxor ejus Boadicea verberibus affecta, et filiæ stupro violatæ sunt. Præcipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exuuntur. et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. Qua contumelia et metu graviorum (quando in formam provinciæ cesserant) rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus, et qui alii nondum servitio facti, resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerant, acerrimoin veteranos odio. quippe in coloniam Camalodunum recens deducti, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando : foventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus, similitudine vitæ, et spe ejusdem licentiæ. Ad hæc templum divo Claudio constitutum, quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur ; delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnes fortunas effundebant.

Nec arduum videbatur, exscindere coloniam nullis munimentis septam : quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amœnitati prius quam usui consulitur.

Inter quæ nulla palam caussa delapsum Camaloduni simulacrum Victoriæ, ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus. Et feminæ in furore turbatæ adesse exitium canebant. Externosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos ; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum ; visamque speciem in æstuario Tamesæ subversæ coloniæ ; jam Oceanum cruento aspectu, dilabente æstu, humanorum corporum effigies relictas, ut Britanni ad spem, ita veterani ad metum trahebant. Sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. Ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine justis armis misit : et inerat modica militum manus. tutela templi freti. Et impedientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum præduxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis, juventus sola restitit : quasi media pace incauti, multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur. Et cetera quidem impetu direpta, aut incensa sunt. templum in quo se miles conglobaverat ? biduo obsessum, expugnatumque. Et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali legato legionis nonæ in subsidium adventanti obvius, fudit legionem, et quod peditum interfecit. Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra, et munimentis defensus est. Qua clade et odiis provinciæ, quam avaritia in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.

At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. Ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coërcitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu et lacrymis auxilium ejus orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum, et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas,

vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis præsidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spoliant, et defendentibus intutum, læti præda, et aliorum segnes petebant. Ad septuaginta millia civium et sociorum, iis quæ memoravi locis, cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut venundare, aliudve quod belli commercium, sed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium, ac prærepta interim ultione, festinabant.

Jam Suetonio quartadecima legio cum vexillariis vicesimariis, et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme millia armatorum erant; cum omittere cunctationem, et congredi acie parat deligitque locum artis faucibus, et a tergo silva clausum, satis cognito, nihil hostium nisi in fronte, et apertam planitiem esse sine metu insidiarum. Igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levi circum armatura conglobatus, pro cornibus eques astitit. At Britannorum copiæ passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo fero, ut conjuges quoque testes victoriæ secum traherent plaustrisque imponerent, qua super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

Boadicea curru filias præ se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat; Solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur; sed tunc non ut tantis majoribus ortam regnum et opes; verum ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, nec senectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant. Adesse tamen deos justæ vindictæ, cecidisse legionem, quæ prœlium ausa sit: ceteros castris occultari, aut fugam circumspicere. Ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos. Si copias armatorum; si caussas belli secum exponderent; vincendum illa acie, vel cadendum esse. Id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri, et servirent.

Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. qui quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat; Ut spernerent sonores Barbarorum, et inanes minas. plus illic feminarum quam juventutis aspici imbelles, inermes, cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium, totiens fusi agnovissent. etiam in multis legionibus paucos esse qui prœlia profligarent. gloriæque eorum accessurum, quod modica manu, universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur. Conferti tantum, et pilis emissis, post umbonibus et gladiis stragem cædemque continuarent; prædæ immemores: parta victoria, cuncta ipsis cessura. Is ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa prœliorum experientia, ut certus eventus Suetonius, daret pugnæ signum.

Ac primum legio gradu immota, et angustias loci pro munimento retinens; postquam propius suggressus hostis certo jactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. Idem auxiliarium impetus: et eques protentis hastis, perfringit quod obvium et validum erat. Ceteri terga præbuere, difficili effugio, quia circumjecta vehicula sepserant abitus. Et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat: confixaque telis etiam jumenta, corporum cumulum auxerant. Clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta. quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta millia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme interfectis, nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boadicea vitam veneno inivit. Et Pœnius Postumus præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis, cognitis quartadecimanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat, abnueratque contra ritum militiæ jussa ducis, se ipsum gladio transegit.

Contractus deinde omnis exercitus, sub pellibus habitus est, ad reliqua belli perpetranda. Auxitque copias Cæsar, missis e Germania duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliariorum cohortibus, ac mille equitibus: quorum ad-

ventu, nonani legionario milite suppleti sunt; cohortes alæque novis hibernaculis locatæ, quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igne atque ferro vastatur. Sed nihil æque quam fames affligebat serendis frugibus incuriosos, et omni ætate ad bellum versa, dum nostros commeatus sibi destinant; gentesque præferoces tardius ad pacem inclinant: quia Julius Classicianus successor Cato missus, et Suetonio discors, bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impediebat, disperseratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine hostili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum. Simul in urbem mandabat, nullum prœlio finem exspectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio: cujus adversa, pravitati ipsius; prospera, ad fortunam Reip. referebat.

Igitur ad spectandum Britanniæ statum missus est ex libertis Polycletus, magna Neronis spe, posse auctoritate ejus, non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni; sed et rebelles Barbarorum animos pace componi. Nec defuit Polycletus, quo minus ingenti agmine Italiæ Galliæque gravis, postquam Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. Sed hostibus irrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate, nondum cognita libertorum potentia erat. mirabanturque, quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis obedirent. Cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relata. Detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod post paucas naves in litore, remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui jam consulatu abierat, jubetur. Is non irritato hoste, neque lacessitus, honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.

Hist. lib. i. c. 2.

Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. Quatuor principes ferro interempti. Tria bella civilia, plura externa, ac ple-

rumque permixta. Prosperæ in Oriente; adversæ in Occidente res. Turbatum Illyricum; Galliæ nutantes; perdomita Britannia, et statim amissa.

Ib. c. 9.

Inferioris Germaniæ legiones diutius sine consulari fuere: donec missu Galbæ, Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac ter consulis filius. id satis videbatur. In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sane aliæ legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus, innocentius egerunt: seu quia procul, et Oceano divisæ: seu crebris expeditionibus doctæ hostem potius odisse.

Ib. c. 60, 61.

Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum. Præerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Cælius legatus vicesimæ legionis olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperant. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinæ Cælio; spoliatas et inopes legiones Cælius Trebellio objectabat. cum interim fœdis legatorum certaminibus, modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiæ ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum convitiis proturbatus, et aggregantibus se Cælio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. quies provinciæ, quamquam remoto consulari mansit. rexere legati legionem, pares jure, Cælius audendo potentior.

Adjuncto Britannico exercitu, ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius, duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere, vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias. et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam irrumpere; Cæcina propiore transitu, Peninis jugis degredi jussus.

Lib. iii. c. 41–45.

Missis ad Vitellium litteris, auxilium postulat. Venere tres cohortes, cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus

numerus, neque ad penetrandum. Sed Valens ne in tanto discrimine quidem infamia caruit, quo minus illicitas rapere voluptates, adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus crederetur. aderant vis, et pecunia, et ruentis fortunæ novissima libido. Adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas consilii patuit, quia nec vadere per hostes tam parva manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integram fidem attulerant. Pudor tamen, et præsentis, ducis reverentia morabatur, haud diuturna vincula apud avidos periculorum, et dedecoris securos. Eo metu, et paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus, cohortes Ariminum præmittit: alam tueri terga jubet: ipse flexit in Umbriam, atque inde in Etruriam: ubi cognito pugnæ Cremonensis eventu, non ignavum, et, si provenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus, in quamcumque partem Narbonensis provinciæ egressus, Gallias, et exercitus, et Germaniæ gentes, novumque bellum cieret.

Digresso Valente, trepidos, qui Ariminum tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus admoto exercitu, et missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit. Occupantur plana Umbriæ, et qua Picenus ager Hadria alluitur. omnisque Italia inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium, Apennini jugis dividebator. Fabius Valens, e sinu Pisano, segnitia maris, aut adversante vento, Portum Herculis Monœci depellitur. haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus, Alpium maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cujus sacramentum, cunctis circa hostilibus, nondum exuerat. Is Valentem comiter exceptum, ne Galliam Narbonensem temere ingrederetur monendo terruit: simul ceterorum fides metu infracta. nam circumjectas civitates, procurator Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiæ, et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in verba ejus adegerat.

Concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Forojuliensem coloniam, claustraque maris præsidio tuebatur: eo gravior auctor, quod Paulino

patria Forum Julii, et honos apud prætorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat. Ipsique pagani, favore municipali, et futuræ potentiæ spe juvare partes annitebantur. quæ ubi paratu firma, et aucta rumore, apud varios Vitelinorum animos increbuere; Fabius Valens cum quatuor speculatoribus, et tribus amicis, totidem centurionibus ad naves regreditur: Maturo, ceterisque remanere, et it verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. Ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti, quam litora, aut urbes; ita futuri ambiguus, et magis quid vitaret, quam cui fideret certus, adversa tempestate Stœchadas Massiliensium insulas affertur. ibi eum missæ a Paulino Liburnicæ oppressere.

Capto Valente, cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio per Hispaniam a prima Adjutrice legione orto, quæ memoria Othonis infensa, Vitellio, decimam quoque ac sextam traxit. Nec Galliæ cunctabantur. Et Britanniam, inclytus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundæ legioni a Claudio præpositus, et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adjunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitellio provecti, expertum jam principem anxii mutabant.

Ea discordia, et crebris belli civilis rumoribus, Britanni sustulere animos, auctore Venusio: qui super incitam ferociam, et Romani nominis odium, propriis in Cartismanduam reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartismandua Brigantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate: et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Carractaco, instruxisse triumphum Claudii Cæsaris videbatur. Inde opes, et rerum secundarum luxus. spreto Venusio (is fuit maritus) armigerum ejus Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit. Concussa, statim flagitio domus: pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginæ, et sævitia. Igitur Venusius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione, in extremum discrimen Cartismanduam adduxit. Tum petita a Romanis præsidia et cohortes alæque nostræ, variis prœliis,

exemere tamen periculo reginam: regnum Venusio; bellum nobis relictum.

De Mor. Ger. c. 45.

Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum, ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremis cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum, et radios capitis aspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque (et fama vera) tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Æstyorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.

Agricolæ Vita.

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna pronum, magisque in aperto erat; ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conscientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum, quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt. nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrectationi fuit. adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime æstimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At mihi nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit. quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

Legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta

clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo ignevocem Pop. Rom. et libertatem Senatus, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum, et sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

Nunc demum redit animus, et quamquam primo statim beatissimi sæculi ortu Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cottidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam, ac robur assumpserit; natura tamen infirmitatis humanæ, tardiora sunt remedia quam mala. et ut corpora lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo: et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitia principis interciderunt? Pauci, et ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis, aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

Cnæus Julius Agricola vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit: quæ equestris nobilitas est. pater Julius Græcinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus. iisque virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritus. Namque Marcum

Salanum accusare jussus, et quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum, ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare, se in prima juventa studium philosophiæ ac juris, ultra quam concessum Rom. ac senatori hausisse; ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium, pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementius quam caute appetebat. mox mitigavit ratio et ætas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paullino diligenti ac moderato duci approbavit electus, quem contubernio æstimaret. Nec Agricola licenter more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus, titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere jactatione, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior, magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intercepti exercitus. tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatæ provinciæ gloria in ducem cessit; artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam splendidis natalibus ortam sibi junxit idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti, decus ac robur fuit.

vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem, et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpæ est. Sors quæsturæ provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit. quorum neutro corruptus est: quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium et solatium simul. nam filium ante sublatum, brevi amisit. Mox inter quæsturam, ac tribunatum plebis, atque etiam ipsum tribunatus annum quiete et otio transit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem prætura tenor, et silentium. nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos, et inania honoris, modo rationis atque abundantiæ duxit. uti longe a luxuria, ita famæ propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium resp. quam Neronis sensisset.

Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum in Templo (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in prædiis suis interfecit: prædiaque ipsa, et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ caussa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuncio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statim urbis Mucianus legebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimæ legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ præposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

Præerat tunc Britanniæ Vectius Bolanus, placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne increscerct, peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: sæpe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister fortunam referebat: ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.

Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascivit, ac deinde provinciæ Aquitaniæ præposuit, splendidæ in primis dignitatis administratione, ac spe consulatus cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et sæpius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona tristitiam, et arrogantiam, et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpe boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute, aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab æmulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium, et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem Consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione, Britanniam ei provinciam dari; nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur, haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit. Consul egregiæ tum spei filiam

juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniæ præpositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Britanniæ situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curæ ingeniive referam: sed quia tum primum perdomita est. itaque quæ priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac cælo in Orientem Germaniæ, in Occidentem Hispaniæ obtenditur; Gallis in Meridiem etiam inspicitur: Septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniæ Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni assimilavere, et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa. sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum, velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit, domuitque. dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix, et hiems abdebat. sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent. ne ventis quidem proinde attolli: credo quod rariores terræ montesque, caussa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque æstus neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere. unum addiderim: nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorbere, sed influere penitus atque ambire, etiam jugis atque montibus inseri velut in suo.

Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta. namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et

torti plerumque crines, et positu contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. proximi Gallis, et similes sunt: seu durante originis vi: seu procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit. in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus. in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia; et ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus. mox segnitia cum otio intravit: amissa virtute pariter ac libertate, quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

In pedite robur: quædam nationes et curru prœliantur. honestior auriga, clientis propugnant. olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur. nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Cælum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum. asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara et extrema Britanniæ parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem Solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire affirmant: scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque cælum et sidera nox cadit. Solum præter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum fecundum tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt. eademque utriusque rei caussa, multus humor terrarum, cælique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ. gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur. nam in rubro

mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia prout expulsa sint colligi. ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse, quam nobis avaritiam.

Ipsi Britanni delectum, ac tributa, et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriæ absint: has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniæ etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præceptum. Agitasse C. Cæsarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano. quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit, domitæ gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

Consularium primus Aulus Plautius præpositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paullatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniæ. addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ. is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paullinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque præsidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem aggressus, terga occasioni patefecit.

Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias, et interpretando

accendere: Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona sæviret: æque discordiam præpositorum, æque concordiam subjectis exitiosam: alterius, manus, centuriones; alterius, vim et contumelias miscere: nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in prœlio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus quantum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine non Oceano defendi sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes: illis avaritiam et luxuriam caussas belli esse. recessuros ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum æmularentur: neve prœlii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent. plus impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

His atque talibus invicem instincti, Voadica generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum: ac sparsos per castella milites confectati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis. nec ullum in Barbaris sævitiæ genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paullinus, eo cognito provinciæ motu, propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius prœlii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque quos conscientia defectionis, et proprius ex legato timor agitabat. Hic cum egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos, et ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret; missus Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior; compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo

provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam Barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus. et interventus civilium armorum præbuit justam segnitiæ excusationem. sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius fuga, ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox præfuit; ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam; dux salutem. hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vectius Bolanus manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina, eadem inertia erga hostes; similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes: et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima provincia totius perhibetur, aggressus, multa prœlia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus quantum licebat, validamque, et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit; super virtutem hostium, locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

Hunc Britanniæ statum, has bellorum vices, media jam æstate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola, quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, præsumpta apud militem illius anni quies tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini

statuit: contractisque legionum vexillis, et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in æquum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. cæsaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famæ, ac prout prima cessissent fore universa; Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paullinum rebellione totius Britanniæ supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant, ratio et constantia ducis transvexit: depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada, et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace, ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola: quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat, victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. sed ipsa dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

Ceterum animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis si injuriæ sequerentur, caussas bellorum statuit exscindere. a se suisque orsus, primam domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere: nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire

circumcisis quæ in quæstum reperta, ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogebantur. devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in romota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit; quæ vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi æstas advenit contracto exercitu, militum in agmine laudare modestiam, disjectos coërcere: loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare: et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur. atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars illacessita transierit.

Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus extruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes. ita honoris æmulatio, pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga. paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos, humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus. qua formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis

tempestatibus exercitum, lacessere non ausi. ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse, nullum ab Agricolo positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fuga desertum. crebræ eruptiones. nam adversus moras obsidionis, annuis copiis firmabantur. ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque præsidio, irritis hostibus, eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit, seu centurio, seu præfectus ; incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut bonis comis, ita adversus malos injucundus, ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat. secretum et silentium ejus non timeres. honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse.

Quarta æstas obtinendis quæ percurrerat insumpta. ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Glota et Bodotria diversi maris æstu per immensum revecti, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur. quod tum præsidiis firmabatur : atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus, ignotos ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit : eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britanniæ comparetur angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cælumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt, melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo

audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

Ceterum æstate qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplas civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, prius classe exploravit: quæ ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur: ac sæpe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et lætitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent: ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc vinctus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnasse. ultro, castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant: regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius, quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant. cum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero, et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonum legionem ut maxime invalidam, nocte aggressi inter somnum ac trepidationem cæsis vigilibus irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem. et propinqua luce fulsere signa. ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni: et Romanis

redit animus, ac securi pro salute, de gloria certabant. ultro quinetiam irrupere. et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis prœlium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his ut tulisse opem, illis ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus: nihil virtuti suæ invium: penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniæ terminum continuo prœliorum cursu fremebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est, prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

Eadem æstate cohors Usipiorum per Germanias conscripta, in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendum disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres Liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere: et uno remigrante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum provehebantur. mox hac atque illi rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium prœlio congressi, ac sæpe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiæ venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro prædonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus illustravit. Initio æstatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum

neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mærorum muliebriter tulit. et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.

Igitur præmissa classe quæ pluribus locis prædata, magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes: cum inter plures duces virtute et genere præstans, nomine Galgacus, apud contractam multitudinem prœlium poscentum, in hunc modem locutus fertur:

" Quotiens caussas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem, consensumque vestrum, initium libertatis totius Britanniæ fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes: et nullæ ultra terræ, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana, ita prœlium atque arma, qua fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnæ, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britanniæ, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus fama in hunc diem defendit. nunc terminus Britanniæ patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et interiores Romani. quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. raptoris orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari;

si pauper, ambitiosi. quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit; soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus, imperium atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

" Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit; hi per delectus alibi servituti auferuntur. Conjuges sororesque etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunasque, in tributum egerunt; in annonam, frumentum. corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam cottidie emit: cottidie pascet. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est: sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetera famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniæ, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra; ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere, nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in præsentia laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendemus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit?

" An eamdem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt: quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundæ res tenent, ita adversæ dissolvent, nisi si Gallos, et Germanos, et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque dominationi alienæ sanguinem commodantes, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et effectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis, quæ ubi removeris,

qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriæ incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullæ Romanos conjuges accendunt: nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt: aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est: paucos numeros circum trepidos ignorantia, cælum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo, ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus, et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. agnoscent Britanni suam caussam. recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem. deserent illos ceteri Germani, tanquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis, vacua castella, senum coloniæ, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes, ægra municipia et discordantia. hic dux, hic exercitus. ibi tributa et metalla, et ceteræ servientium pœnæ: quas in æternum proferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et majoreis vestros, et posteros cogitate."

Excepere orationem alacres, et barbari moris cantu et fremitu clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina, et armorum fulgores, audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebantur acies. cum Agricola quamquam lætum et vix monitis coërcitum militem adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: " Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Rom. fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot prœliis seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore pæne adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit: neque me militum, neque vos ducis pœnituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniæ non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque vocem audiebam, Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt a latebris suis extrusi. et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus,

atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse æstuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima. quæ hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia, aut commeatuum eadem abundantia: sed manus, et arma, et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior; et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt. nec inglorium fuerit, in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse.

" Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset: aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer. nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis aggressos, clamore debellastis: ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus, fortissimum quodque animal robore, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur: sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi, ideo extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, approbate Reip. nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse, aut moras belli, aut caussas rebellandi."

Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent: equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterant: ita ut primum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive

jugum connexi velut insurgerent: media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus ne simul in frontem, simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem, et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur. simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladius et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent. quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare, et tractis qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in collis aciem cœpere; ceteræ cohortes æmulatione et impetu commistæ proximos quosque cædere, ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriæ relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugere, covinarii peditum se prœlio miscuere; et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inæqualibus locis hærebant: minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cum in gradu stantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos, aut obvios incursabant.

Et Britanni qui adhuc pugnæ expertes summa collium insederant, et, paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paullatim et circumire terga vincentium cœperant: ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quatuor equitum alas ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum. transvectæque

præcepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ armatorum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus: et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque postquam silvis appropinquarunt, collecti, primos sequentium incautos et locorum ignaros circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola, validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari, et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere. finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. cæsa hostium ad decem millia: nostrorum trecenti quadraginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus præfectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus: Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos, ac per iram ultro incendere: eligere latebras, et statim relinquere: miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein sperare: aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, sæpius concitari. satisque constabat sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latius aperuit. vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat; in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus; præfecto classis circumvehi Bri-

tanniam præcepit. datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ lecto omni redierat.

Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Domitiano, moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori, et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet: et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in præsentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret. nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

Igitur triumphalia ornamenta, et illustris statuæ honorem, et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet: addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolæ destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique, libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos quibus ei Syria dabatur tulisse, cum præcepto, ut si in Britannia foret, traderentur: eumque libertum in ipso freto Occeani obvium Agricolæ, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et

frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut præceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est. Ceterum ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Caussa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicæ tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitis in Mœsia Daciaque, et Germania Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignavium ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti: nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam, et expertum bellis animum, cum inertia et formidine eorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque liberorum amore et fide; pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

Aderat jam annus quo proconsulatum Asiæ et Africæ sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturus ne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in appro-

banda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum, qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et cum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsulari solitum offerri, et quibusdam a seipso concessum, Agricolæ non dedit: sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris: Domitiani vero natura præceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolæ leniebatur, quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertates, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublic. usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam audita morte Agricolæ, aut lætatus est, aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, veneno interceptum. Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim: ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuncios visentis, et libertorum primi, et medicorum intimi venere: sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nunciata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari, quæ tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque præ se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolæ, quo coheredem optimæ uxori et piissimæ filiæ Domitianum scripsit, lætatum eum, velut honore judicioque: tam cæca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut ne-

sciret a bono patre non scribi heredem, nisi malum principem.

Natus erat Agricola Caio Cæsare tertium cons. Idib. Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kal. Septemb. Collega Priscoque Coss. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit. nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et Consularibus ac Triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosæ contigerant. filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis. futura effugisse. Nam sicuti durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre, augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur: ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhausit.

Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium cædes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam villam sententia Messallini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostræ duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici, Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos; jussitque scelera, non spectavit: præcipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et aspici: cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur: cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus illa vultus et rubor, a quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix Agricola non vitæ tantum

claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tanquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiæque, præter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mœstitiam, quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiare vultu, complexu, non contigit. excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus: nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrymis compositus es, et novissimus in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ; placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio, et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius temporalibus laudibus, et si natura suppeditet, militum decoramus. Is verus honos, eo conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque uxorique præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur. non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quæ marmore aut ære finguntur: sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt; forma mentis æterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet, mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruet, Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

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